HISTORY

OF

JACOBINISM.

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HISTORY OF JACOBINISM,

ITS CRIMES,

CRUELTIES AND PERFIDIES,

FROM

THE COMMENCEMENT

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION,

TO THE

DEATH OF ROBESPIERRE:

COMPRISING

An INQUIRY into the Manner of Diſſeminating, under the Appearance of PHILOSOPHY and VIRTUE, PRINCIPLES which are equally ſubverſive of ORDER, VIRTUE, RELIGION, LIBERTY and HAPPINESS.

VOL. II.

BY WILLIAM PLAYFAIR,

AUTHOR OF THE COMMERCIAL AND POLITICAL ATLAS, &c.

Why have you deceived me? Your Rights of Man were only a ſnare laid to make Frenchmen fall, that they might the more eaſily be aſſaſſinated. I pity thoſe who call themſelves Citizens, and who ſhed torrents of the blood of citizens. O crime! when they have ſhed blood, they dance round their victim; they contemplate with a dry eye the laſt convulſion; they approach nearer to indulge their ears with the laſt groan.

KLOPSTOCK *to the National Aſſembly of France.*

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1798.

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CHAP. X.

Conduct of the chiefs of the revolt who were at the Hotel de Ville—Cruelties of the 10th *of Auguſt—Decrees of that day—Inſidious conduct towards the king and treachery to the nation—Manner in which Paris ruled deſpotically over France—Difficulties attending the eſtabliſhment of a* FREE *republic in a large, populous, and old country—Compariſon between the deſpotiſm of unlimited monarchy and republican deſpotiſm—Few inſtances of unlimited monarchies, and thoſe confined to Aſia and Africa—General reflections.*

THIS ſecond period of the French revolution which now begun, ſhews in all its extent the misfortunes and crimes that reſult from encouraging men to rebel againſt legitimate authority. The reign of the people was now fairly eſtabliſhed, and the firſt operation was to maſſacre all the Swiſs guards who fell into their hands. Numbers

were murdered and mutilated in detail, but the large column which had been taken was conducted to the Hotel de Ville, and, according to the cuſtom (begun with Bertier and Foulon two years ago), they were all maſſacred at the ſoot of the ſtairs, and in preſence of the ſelf-created, uſurping magiſtrates. Theſe murders were all approved of and protected upon the great ſcale, but the aſſembly pretended to preach reſpect to perſons and property, when any particular occaſion occurred that might ſhew ſomething like regard to juſtice without deranging the main plan of exterminating its enemies. As cruelty and humanity are incompatible with each other, and cannot lodge in the ſame breaſt, the aſſembly, the leaders of the revolt, and thoſe who conducted it, muſt drop all claim to one or other of theſe qualities, and certainly it is not to that of cruelty; we are, therefore, juſtified in conſidering the caſes in which they deviated from their general line of conduct, as unwilling ſacrifices made to the ſhrine of juſtice and humanity, in order to blind the ſpectators with reſpect to the extent of their atrocities.

The new common council of Paris was now become the executive power, with Petion at its head and the rabble at its command; the aſſembly having conſented to act the part of a paſſive inſtrument,

ſtrument, and to decree whatever the populace, ſet on by the municipality, demanded, all power might be ſaid to be lodged in the mayor and his conſorts, who were the leaders of the Jacobin and Cordelier clubs.

The municipal officers were formidable from their violence of diſpoſition, as well as from their great number; ſelected from the different quarters of Paris, they had ſpies, connections, and enemies in every part of that large and populous city. A part of this number remained at the Hotel de Ville to deliberate and ſend off orders, and the remainder were diſpatched to ſee them executed. The barriers had all been ſhut at an early hour in the morning to prevent their victims from eſcaping, as well as to prevent the departments of the kingdom from hearing the hiſtory of what was going on till all ſhould be finiſhed. In this they imitated the firſt leaders of the inſurrection, who did preciſely the ſame things on the fourteenth of July; but as the democrats of former times were the ariſtocrats of the preſent day, they were purſued with unrelenting vengeance, for they had been popular once, and might be formidable now.

M. de Clermont Tonnerre, one of the members of the firſt deputation of the aſſembly at Verſailles to the inſurgents of Paris, when the Baſtile was taken, was the ſecond victim

after Mandat.* A number of *ſuſpected* perſons had been impriſoned during the night only becauſe they were found walking the ſtreets, and becauſe ſome of them had arms, a very natural

* This gentleman had always profeſſed very moderate principles, though he had encouraged *the beginning of the revolt.* He was ſeized by the populace near his own hotel, at a diſtance from the Thuilleries. Every thing ſhewed that he was not occupied in any ſort of plot or conſpiracy. He uſed his eloquence and his arguments in vain. When the people found that he defended himſelf from all blame, a blow was aimed at him, and the attempt to ward it off was a ſufficient crime; he was then attacking the majeſty of the nation, and was immediately immolated to its juſtice. This is one of the ten thouſand leſſons given by the revolution to thoſe who for one moment think that inſurrection can be a duty. The virtuous and moderate Clermont Tonnerre was more obnoxious to the anarchiſts now, than the greateſt ariſtocrat had been at the beginning of the revolution.

The perſons ſtopped in the night time were ſtragglers, who, through curioſity, or inquietude, could not ſtay at home; nothing could be proved againſt them, nor was it attempted. They were chiefly young men, well dreſſed, and ſome of them of wit and talents; they were, therefore, ariſtocrats, and that was enough, republican juſtice and zeal required nothing more for a pretence, and the real motive was to render the people mad with rage. All this was done before the attack of the Thuilleries commenced; and it is well known that any violent exceſs of this ſort inſpires a mob with anger againſt the military who are ſtationed for the preſervation of order; becauſe a crime committed leads to the fear of puniſhment, therefore, deſperation follows the ſhedding of innocent blood. Beſides this, heads carried on poles ſhew the inhabitants that the mob has triumphed over law and order, and, therefore, all thoſe who go with the ſtrongeſt, became aiders and abettors.

precaution

precaution in ſuch times; and eleven out of twenty-eight were barbarouſly murdered in order to excite the people to acts of outrage and violence by the double feeling of fear and rage. A plot it was pretended had been diſcovered, and the heads of the pretended conſpirators were carried about on poles; this artifice had already been ſo often practiſed, and in general ſucceeded ſo well, that no doubt can be entertained of the deſign with which it was done.

The populace aſſembled through curioſity and anxiety at firſt, but had not taken any active part in the attack upon the Thuilleries, but when they ſaw theſe bloody trophies, and as ſoon as the unfortunate guard were conquered, they were ready to play their part in robbery and aſſaſſination.

The trick played off formerly to incenſe the people againſt the governor of the Baſtile was now employed againſt the Swiſs, and with a ſimilar effect;* they were purſued like wild beaſts, and no mercy was given. Their mutilated carcaſſes beſtrewed the ſtreets, and received the laſt indignities that a complication of abominable

* It was ſaid that the Swiſs had betrayed the people by an appearance of friendſhip and peace, and when they had made them approach, received them with a general diſcharge of muſketry. Nothing was more falſe.

paſſions could inſpire into the minds of a corrupted and enraged populace.

The perpetrators of many of the infamies and horrors of the revolution are ſkreened from the full extent of the anger and diſguſt which their atrocities would inſpire, from the circumſtance that THEY DO NOT ADMIT OF BEING REPEATED, until all regard to modeſty, and the feelings of humanity ſhall be ſtifled in the minds of other nations; ſhould ſuch an unfortunate and miſerable period ever come, then will Pariſian refinement and the acts of the good people *(le bon peuple)* of France ſhine forth in all their natural and original ſplendour; till then, we muſt be contented to ſay, that depraved imaginations were tortured to invent whatever it was poſſible for ſavages void of every feeling of humanity to execute.

The porters at the gates of the Thuillerie garden, and who were as innocent of what had paſſed at the palace as if they had been an hundred miles diſtant, were cruelly maſſacred with their wives and children. The menial ſervants of the palace, whoſe misfortune it was to be there, but who had not engaged in any reſiſtance, ſhared the fate of the Swiſs.* Cooks, ſcullions, man ſervants and

* Theſe laſt might have eſcaped if they had imagined there was any danger for them, but they fell victims, like many others, to the republicans, by not being able to conceive their danger.

maid

maid ſervants, all alike, fell victims of the republican rage.

The aſſembly pretended to deliberate calmly, and to govern France, while they took the moſt important reſolutions at the command of the mob, and no proteſt has ever yet been entered into againſt the legality of the proceedings [*Note* N.]

As ſoon as matters were a little quieted, couriers were diſpatched to all the provinces, which were in expectation of ſome great event, as in the firſt days of the revolution, and ready to receive whatever impulſe might be given. There was now, however, a difference of the poſition of men's minds; at the firſt epoch, men were tired of the oppreſſions of a regular government, they were now tired of the tenfold greater evils of anarchy. In the beginning, hope of being better was the predominant paſſion, it was now fear of being worſe that reigned, and of conſequence, when the addreſs of the aſſembly arrived, obedience and reſignation were ready; but the Jacobin clubs ſet to work, and ſoon procured addreſſes of adheſion and congratulation on the fall of that conſtitution which they had all ſo eagerly and ſo repeatedly ſworn to maintain. Whether the villany of the leaders, or the puſillanimity of the inhabitants at large was the greateſt, it is

difficult to determine; but it cannot be doubted that both the two were immenſely great, and it is evident that the Pariſian leaders counted upon the obedient and ſubmiſſive diſpoſition of the nation, becauſe the deſire of adhering to the conſtitution had been recently manifeſted by a very great majority of the departments of the kingdom.

The leaders of the inſurrection reaſoned thus: we are few, but we ſhall perſuade a number of the people whoſe indigence renders them diſcontented, to join us; when we are ten thouſand, no force in Paris can oppoſe us, and therefore all Paris will join with us; when the deed ſhall be done, we ſhall be all equally guilty, and therefore Paris will maintain what has become her act and deed. Paris is the center of the kingdom, and the moſt populous city; no one department will venture to riſe againſt us; we ſhall call upon them for ſupport ſeparately and in detail; they will have no time to conſult with each other, and muſt therefore be incapable of any ſyſtematic oppoſition. Add to this, by our fifteen thouſand clubs, we can put the magiſtrates of all France in fear and in danger, ſo that before the moment for reflection or reſiſtance can come, they will be obliged to declare themſelves in our favour; ſhould ſome departments not do ſo, we have means eaſily to reduce them

to

to obedience, as they can make no combined effort.

Such was actually the reaſoning of the Jacobin leaders at Paris, and the event has ſhewn that they were not deceived.

The great extent of France, and all communications from the diſtant quarters being carried on by means of correſpondences in Paris, rendered it abſolutely impoſſible to take any meaſures to counteract whatever the Pariſians choſe to do.

Thoſe who think that republican freedom can be eſtabliſhed over a large and populous country, are much miſtaken. If there is one large city that ſerves as a center, then will it rule the whole; if there is no ſuch large city, then will the republic divide itſelf into ſmaller fractions. Even America, which has ſo many advantages in its favour, will either in time ſeparate into different republics, or it will loſe its liberty.* We muſt be careful

* It is not impoſſible but that the new federal city which the Americans are building as a center for their government, at a diſtance from the ſea, is begun with an intention to prevent the whole country from becoming the ſlave of a large capital, and as ſuch, it is extremely wiſe. With reſpect to the probability of the American ſtates ſeparating, when they become populous, or loſing their

careful to make a diſtinction between a republican form of government and a free government; they may, and ſometimes are united, but they are not always ſo, though the republican forms have more the appearance of freedom than monarchical forms have.

Deſpotiſm in monarchy ariſes from a general diſpoſition in the ſubjects to obey, and in republics from a general diſunion and difference of opinion amongſt the citizens. The Roman government was called republican, until the time of the emperors; but it was an abuſe of language to comprehend the Roman provinces under the name of a free republic. The free republican government only exiſted at Rome, and a ſmall portion of Italy. We may allow that the Roman citizens at a certain period were free, and that the freedom they enjoyed was under a republican form; but the free republic only extended to a ſmall diſtance. The deſpotic republic extended over a great portion of Europe.

liberties, it muſt depend on circumſtances which of the two will happen; but the one or the other muſt happen, and it will be lucky for them if they ſeparate, and thereby preſerve their liberty. Fear is the thing that ſupports deſpotiſm under a republican form, and fear cannot be inſpired except when there is a powerful body to give the impulſe in ſuch a way, that both the action and re-action ſhall have taken place before there is time for the different provinces to conſult together. Until America becomes populous, there is not any danger.

The

The republic of Athens was a free republic altogether, becauſe its territories were not of ſuch an extent as to admit of the chief city giving arbitrary laws to the reſt.

What was the conſequence of the former of thoſe republics? Why, that Rome increaſed to a moſt enormous ſize; that the wealth of all the provinces was continually extorted from the oppreſſed inhabitants, on purpoſe to ſupport the enormous expenſes of an enormous city; and whatever revolutions the parties in the capital effected, the whole of its ſubjects were obliged blindly to obey. France obeys Paris in the ſame manner; whether its inhabitants make a conſtitution or deſtroy one, it is the ſame thing to the nation at large, they muſt ſubmit.

The invention of paper money has ſoftened the rigour of thoſe contributions, under which induſtry and capital have been laid to ſupport the vices and the expenſes of government; but it will likewiſe be more terrible in the end than taxes, for the former robs the nation of all its capital, and encourages idleneſs, whereas the latter obliges men to be induſtrious, and only robs them of part of the fruits of their induſtry.

As republican forms by no means ſecure freedom, though they aſſume its appearance, it would

be a very uſeful thing to enter fully into an inquiry, whether republican deſpotiſm or monarchical deſpotiſm is the worſt? The prejudices of mankind are in favour of republics perhaps, but it would be very eaſy to prove, that people are much happier under mixed governments, than under a purely republican or monarchical form of government. It is at all events very certain, that the liberty of people under a republic depends upon the intereſt of all being nearly the ſame; now, great extent of territory, or thoſe peculiar diſtinctions, views, prejudices, and intereſts, which are to be found *in all old nations*, prevent the poſſibility of that unanimity and cooperation which are neceſſary in order to procure happineſs under a republican form of government. America is extenſive, but in all other reſpects is at preſent much better fitted for a republican than a monarchical government, but it will become leſs ſo as it grows older. It was a general notion in France, that that kingdom was too extenſive for a republican form of government, but this was combated by the example of America; and in this caſe the Jacobins quoted example, the leſſons of which they had ſo continually neglected, and upon an occaſion where they could not with any propriety be applied.

Perhaps many people will think that we are going too far in ſaying, that even a mixed go-

vernment could not exiſt in France, on account of its extent, population, and manners; but ſhould we be wrong, there are at leaſt a great many reaſons that ſeem to ſupport it. We muſt here enter our proteſt againſt the idea of ſpeaking in favour of unlimited monarchy and arbitrary power, or of any form that is not ſo far republican, that the people ſhall have repreſentatives with ſufficient power to controul the will of the king; yet there are certainly caſes, where a nation is unfortunately in a ſtate where thoſe bleſſings cannot be enjoyed; and it ſeems probable, that the French nation is one example.

There are three ſorts of hereditary monarchical governments. The one is, unlimited or uncontrouled monarchy, where there is no conſtitutional act to ſupport the rights of the ſubject, and where, of conſequence, the will of the ruler is ſupreme, and regulates all.

The ſecond ſort of monarchical government is, where there is a conſtitutional act, or where cuſtom, natural juſtice or precedent, and laws already made, are a rule of conduct for the ſovereign. This is pure but limited monarchy.

The third is, that mixed government, where the people ſhare in the power of making laws with the king, and where they have ſufficient means

means of making the conſtitutional act be preſerved from any infringement on his part.

Under the firſt of theſe governments, none but ignorant barbarians or ſlothful voluptuaries can exiſt; but as there does not exiſt in Europe an example of one, nor, probably, an advocate in favour of one, it is not neceſſary to enter into any conſideration of its incompatibility with human happineſs.*

The ſecond ſort of monarchy is the moſt univerſal, in every ſenſe of the word; firſt, ſuch governments exiſt, and have exiſted, at all times, the bulk of civiliſed nations have poſſeſſed ſuch, and do now poſſeſs ſuch; they may be very mild, and the people very happy under them, or they may be the reverſe; and it is unlucky, that a form of government, under which men may be happy, which is ſo univerſal and capable of ſuch modifications, has obtained the name of *arbitrary monarchy*, though that appellation cannot, with propriety, be applied but to the firſt ſort of government, of which we have been ſpeaking.

* It is very extraordinary, that neither Goths, Vandals, nor any barbarous tribes, formerly in Europe, were governed by this ſort of kingly power; nor was ever any tribe of North American ſavages, yet Africa and Aſia have produced many examples of this government, and all the Aſiatic and African governments approach very nearly to this ſtate of uncontrouled kingly power.

Re-

Republicans are particularly apt to fall into the error of calling this limited monarchy arbitrary, and as the will conveys an idea of the deed, men are apt to think, that wretchedneſs is the lot of the ſubjects of all ſuch governments, though experience does not, by any means, vindicate or ſupport this opinion, which is founded upon the belief, that human nature is ſo depraved and perverted, that rulers are always diſpoſed to exerciſe injuſtice and oppreſſion. This idea is wrong in itſelf, and the more inexcuſable in republicans, that all their ſyſtems of republican happineſs are founded upon the belief, that men are in general guided by good intention and a love of their country.

It may be ſaid, that when people have rights ariſing either from a compact made with the king, or ariſing from certain principles having been long adopted and followed, unleſs they have a method of defending thoſe principles againſt the power of the king, ſuch rights are a mere illuſion. This is true, in ſome degree, but by no means to its full extent.

To argue, that a king of Spain, for inſtance, becauſe he has no parliament ready in Madrid to refuſe the ſupplies, or diſband the army, will lay unneceſſary and oppreſſive taxes on the people, and declare war without provocation, is as unfair as to argue, that the houſe of commons will refuſe

ſuſe the annual ſupplies, becauſe it has the power to do ſo. Thoſe who calculate either upon the total depravity of the human mind in kings, or perfect virtue in people, are equally miſtaken, as the hiſtory of mankind, from the earlieſt ages, proves beyond a diſpute; and as the revolution of France confirms: it therefore follows, that the government of a nation ſhould neither be founded upon the one nor the other of theſe principles, but ſhould be regulated by the ſituation and nature of the people to be governed.

In Rome, as long as the people preſerved themſelves from corruption of manners and principles, every conteſt between parties ended in favour of liberty; at a later period, when the ſituations of men and things were changed, every conteſt ended in favour of deſpotiſm. In France, hitherto every conteſt for liberty has ended as in the latter period of the Roman government; and in England, every conteſt has ended as in the former period; there muſt therefore be, probably, ſome ſtrong reaſons for this difference of reſults, where the motives ſeem to have been the ſame.*

It

* Unlimited monarchies are rare things, and even thoſe are not ſo terrible as people may imagine: a monarch, even in the worſt of caſes, begins by making laws, and both his pride and indolence are concerned in adhering to them rather than in overturning them. The cruelties and oppreſſion of ſuch kings are

It is not, probably, one ſimple cauſe, but a combination of ſeveral different cauſes, that have operated ſo hurtfully againſt French liberty. The ſize of the country, and the variety of the wants, wiſhes, and diſpoſitions of the people, certainly are of the number---The impatient vivacity, which ruſhes too haſtily to concluſions, and rejects thoſe precautions which are neceſſary to prevent men from ruining themſelves, ſeems, however, to be the principal one.

Another great cauſe is in the vanity and exalted notions of the people in general, which makes them reject the leſſons of experience, and liſten to wild theories.

To theſe cauſes may be added another ſtill. The depraved ſtate of morals, and the conſequent miſtruſt that takes place between different parties, which prevents OPPOSITE POWERS FROM ACTING WITH UNITED EFFORTS FOR THE WELL-BEING OF THE STATE.* Contented with the

are rather on private and particular occaſions than upon a large ſcale; and it is to be recollected, that the ſupreme power of one chief, by puniſhing with promptitude and ſeverity, prevents a great many ſmaller oppreſſors from daring to exert their power; tyrants do not love rivals in atrocity, and therefore the worſt of them generally protect their ſubjects from all oppreſſion but their own.

* We never find in England different parties expreſs themſelves as if they thought all their opponents in politics were men void

the means of defence, the different powers in the ſtate in England make no attacks upon each other's prerogatives; but in France we ſee it was a perpetual war for many ages. The king trampled on the rights of the people by depriving them of their lawful repreſentatives, whilſt he had the power to do ſo; and no ſooner had an uncommonly virtuous monarch reſtored their rights to the people, than he finds himſelf ſtripped of his own with a tyranny and perſeverance without example.

That the depraved ſtate of morals was a very active cauſe we may learn from this, that when the revolution began, and the general run of the people had yet ſome attachment to principle, there were many attempts made to become free and happy; but after three years of anarchy had rooted up all reſpect to things hitherto held ſacred, the revolution became UNLIMITED ANARCHY. All regard to law and natural or eſtabliſhed rights were equally thrown aſide, and there was leſs of what is properly called freedom than at any former period of French hiſtory.

void of principle, and not to be truſted. We make in this country a diſtinction between moral principles and political opinions. We ſuppoſe all men, who form any oſtenſible part of ſociety, agree nearly as to the former, though they differ widely as to the latter. Nobody will accuſe the chiefs of either party of wiſhing to ruin England, but many may ſuppoſe that the meaſures of one of the parties lead to ruin.

If

If freedom is only to be obtained by balancing different powers againſt each other, as in England, the French ſeem to be incapable of poſſeſſing it long, from their want of moderation and confidence in each other, which will prevent them from acting together. And if freedom is to be obtained by a pure republican form of government, they ſeem to be equally incapable of poſſeſſing it, from the variety of their views and intereſts, the violence of their paſſions, and their want of purity of manners.

It is therefore, perhaps, more probable that France may enjoy liberty under limited, but unmixed monarchy, than under either a mixed, or a republican form; or, if ever freedom is enjoyed under the latter form, it will be when France ſhall be divided, and ſo diminiſhed, that the city which is the center of government will be no longer capable of exerciſing arbitrary ſway under the appearance of republican liberty.

Who is the man, or where is he, that would not prefer being under the government of one king, than under that of thoſe infamous men, who uſurped the government, by placing themſelves at the head of the revolt on the 10th of Auguſt? Had Robeſpierre, Danton, Petion, or Talien, reigned alone and without controul from that period, we ſhould not have ſeen France de-

ſolated and diſgraced by the maſſacres that ſucceeded. It is certainly no great compliment paid to kings, when we ſuppoſe them to be upon an equality in point of virtue and humanity with theſe miſcreants; but it is a very great compliment to kingly government, when we aſſert that, even in the hands of ſuch wretches, it would be preferable to a republic in a corrupted ſtate of ſociety.

What may tend a little to confirm us in the opinion that monarchy alone, and unmixed monarchy will beſt ſuit the ſituation and character of the French nation, is, that moſt of thoſe who wiſhed to ſee a free government eſtabliſhed in France, and who aided to deſtroy the former government, but who are equally averſe to anarchy as to ſlavery, are now of opinion that they were miſtaken in thinking ſuch a change could be effected in France by a national aſſembly, or by two houſes of parliament.

The law of juries upon the Engliſh plan, which is one of the greateſt bleſſings a people can enjoy, was never put in practice in France, ſo as to attain the end of juſtice; the ſame diſpoſition for intrigue, the ſame want of patience and want of ſolid principles led the jurymen aſtray, that had ruined the national aſſembly and the nation. In the different municipalities and in the adminiſtration

ſtration of the departments, men were oppreſſed with all the expenſes of the ancient government, and vexed with all the ſophiſms and new-fangled principles of the revolution; ſo that it does certainly appear, as at leaſt being very problematical, whether the French can be happy under any other than monarchical government, and that not of the *unlimited* ſort, but, at the ſame time, *unmixed*.

We have been naturally led into theſe reflections at the time when the revolution changed its character, and when the reſults of the firſt principles laid down by the conſtituent aſſembly were fully developed; it was on the 14th of July that the nation had eat of the fruit of the forbidden tree, but it was not till the 10th of Auguſt that its nakedneſs and wretchedneſs were perceived. [*See Note* O.]

The triumph of the rabble was as complete over the burgeſſes after the 10th of Auguſt, as that of the burgeſſes had been over the nobles two years before. Men were now glad to hide their epaulets and uniforms, as they had formerly been to hide their ſtars and ribands; to be ragged, dirty, and diſguſting, was the way to be honoured and reſpected, and was indiſpenſable to individual ſafety; it was likewiſe the way to power and profit.

The Marſeillois and their aſſociates were perpetually in the club of the Cordeliers. The Jacobin club for a few weeks was not quite upon the level of the revolution,* and it was conſidered as rather being too ariſtocratical for about eight or ten days; not that this reproach could be made with juſtice to the whole of the club, but that it wanted to be purified of many of its members who had formerly ſhewn too much moderation.

The manifeſto of the Duke of Brunſwick had produced in Paris a very different effect from what he expected; he had threatened when he ought to have promiſed; and, as the attack of the 10th had laid the Pariſians open to all the vengeance which he could inflict, ſhould he ſucceed, the whole inhabitants joined in wiſhing to have him repulſed. This operated a coalition of parties, exactly as the fooliſh affair of the Prince de Lambeſc had done at the beginning of the revolution, and its effects were as fatal and as formidable to the adviſers of that imprudent meaſure.

The friends of royalty in France were ſorry to ſee their fortunes put into the hands of the King

* *Au niveau de la revolution*, a Jacobin method for expreſſing their being ready to ſupport every violent meaſure.

of

of Pruſſia, who was not half ſo much intereſted in the reſult of the affair as the Emperor of Germany. Pruſſia, it was evident, could not carry on the war at its own expenſe, and it was too remote from France to have any thing to fear from an attack upon itſelf. Beſides, the court of Berlin ſwarmed with men who did not approve of the monarchical form of government which they were to fight for, and all of whom were the enemies of the Houſe of Auſtria. This hatred pervaded the officers and the private men as well as the courtiers; ſo that great ſucceſs could not be expected; and what might, perhaps, have been obtained, was rendered impoſſible by the effect of the manifeſto.

It is difficult to conceive by what arguments the Duke of Brunſwick, at the head of only 80,000 men, could be perſuaded, or could perſuade himſelf, to ſend a manifeſto, in which he menaced a great kingdom, to the aſſiſtance of whoſe king he was coming, whilſt that king and his family were in the power of the very people he menaced. Did the duke reaſon from the former nature of the French nation, or from its preſent diſpoſition? The French were never cowards formerly, and lately they had been very bold and audacious. At all events, it muſt be conſidered as very dangerous to put ſuch men in fear, and

reduce them to deſpair, when they had the king and his family in their power.

Had the peaceable and well-inclined citizens of Paris wiſhed to diſavow the affair of the 10th of Auguſt, they durſt not now venture to do it, becauſe it was neceſſary to be unanimous amongſt themſelves, in order to avert the evils from a foreign army with which they were threatened, and from which thoſe moſt averſe to the revolt of the 10th had the moſt to fear. The revolutioniſts who had nothing to loſe could quit Paris, and would certainly have done ſo had the Pruſſian army advanced, they would have likewiſe carried the king and his family with them; but the citizen who had a houſe and ſome property, muſt have remained, and ſubmitted to the laws and puniſhments which the conqueror might chuſe to order. And what could he expect? either to be treated as guilty of traiterouſly aiding to attack the palace, or baſely looking on. And who were to be the judges? why, ſtrangers who knew nothing of the matter.

The violent efforts of the Pariſians to ſtir up all France to repel the Pruſſian army, was the natural conſequence of this imprudent and fatal manifeſto; and we muſt lament, that, if the revolution has furniſhed little elſe on the ſide of the revolted but perfidy and crimes, on the part of

thoſe

thoſe who wiſh to cruſh it, we have ſeen little elſe than blunders, originating in the total ignorance of what was going on in France, and the ſtate of the minds of the people.

The decrees rendered by the aſſembly on the 10th of Auguſt, [*See Note* P.] ſhew how readily the aſſembly concurred in deſtroying the conſtitution, even upon the ſuppoſition that it did nothing more than concur.

The king's miniſters were diſmiſſed, and replaced by Le Brun for foreign affairs; Danton, that factious and violent republican, for the miniſter of juſtice; Monge, a teacher of navigation, for the marine; Servan, who had been of the Jacobin miniſtry a few months before, for the war miniſter; and Claviere. Theſe men were to ſupply the place of the king in the new order of things; that is to ſay, they were to be the executive power,* under, however, the controul of Roland,

* Le Brun was editor of a newſpaper, and had been baniſhed France, to which he had only ventured to return after the revolution had commenced, like many others of thoſe who now held places of profit and importance. He has ſince been guillottined.

Servan had been openly accuſed by the popular deputy Lecointre of Verſailles, as a corrupt miniſter who had accepted bribes. He has ſince been guillottined.

Roland, who had been miniſter at the ſame time with the other Jacobins, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an inſolent letter to his majeſty.

The re-appearance of theſe actors upon the ſcene ſhews the connection between the plans previous to the 10th of Auguſt, and after it. It at leaſt ſhows, that this revolution did not originate in the king, nor was it the ſpontaneous effort of the people, ſince thoſe who were ſeen ſo long ago preparing the way for it, now were immediately exalted by it to the firſt offices in the nation. It is thus, that when a rebel prince, in Africa, dethrones a ſovereign, he is put in his place; the perſons who had been moſt active in dethroning Louis XVI. now reigned in his ſtead, under the name of the executive miniſters.

Monge was the moſt unexceptionable of them all with regard to his paſt life, which was confined to attention to his buſineſs.

Danton had been an advocate for cauſes determined by the cabinet council of the king, as our houſe of lords decides in England. He was one of the moſt daring and cruel men in France.

Claviere was originally a merchant in Geneva; he had left it for the revolution there; then had gone to Ireland to ſettle a colony, which he had ſoon left in order to job in the funds in Paris. He was a man of knowledge in ſeveral lines, but of a cruel and vindictive temper. He cut his throat in priſon, as Roland did on the high road near Rouen.

Three years had been employed in France to render odious the characters of kings and queens, by collecting the crimes of thoſe individual monarchs during many centuries, who had rendered themſelves juſtly odious by abuſing the power put into their hands. But the monarchs of the aſſembly, of the miniſtry, and of the municipality, willing, perhaps, to ſpare their hiſtorians a ſimilar trouble, begun by exhibiting in a few months more crimes and horrors than the hiſtorian would be able to relate, or the reader to remember.

We have already ſaid, that the nature of the cruelties exerciſed prevented a regard to decency from calling down upon the perpetrators the full extent of the vengeance of mankind. It is equally true that their *multiplicity* prevents a complete detail; ſo that we may ſay, that both for enormity and extent their crimes ſurpaſs deſcription.

As, after the 10th of Auguſt, one of the firſt acts was to ſuppreſs all the royaliſt, or even the moderate newſpapers; as the liberty of the preſs, which had never been fully eſtabliſhed except for the violent faction, was now entirely at an end, we muſt take the teſtimony of levellers and anarchiſts for the proofs of their own crimes; and we ſhall ſee that, though probably they do not go nearly to the extent that truth would require, yet they go far enough for the purpoſe of convincing

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us that no government was ever ſo cruel, ſo unjuſt, nor ſo treacherous, as that of the leaders of this ſecond revolution.'

Cambon, in a ſpeech to the national convention, in November following, ſays:*

" Witneſs myſelf to many facts, I think it ne-
" ceſſary to ſpeak of them, that the convention
" may avoid what the legiſlative aſſembly ſuf-
" fered. An enemy to kings, I embraced with
" eager joy the revolution of 1789, which brought
" on the fall of kings. When I arrived in Paris,
" I perceived that a ſecond revolution was ne-
" ceſſary to conſummate the fall of kings. That
" revolution was effected, not by thoſe who pre-
" tend to have effected it, but by the legiſlative
" body, which diſbanded the guard of conſpi-
" rators of the king, which had ſuppreſſed the
" ſtaff officers of the Pariſian guards, and or-
" dered the Swiſs regiments to be diſmiſſed; and
" which had ſent away the regular troops from
" Paris, in order that the people might have
" nothing to fear. The palace of the Thuilleries
" felt the blow, and ſhut up its garden. The le-
" giſlative body, always revolutionary, ſaid; 'You
" ſhut up your garden---well, we will open it;'

* Cambon,---This is the financier who regulated all the finances until Barrere's expulſion from the aſſembly.

" and

" and the garden was opened, in ſpite of the ty-
" rant who had ſhut it. That meaſure ſeemed
" contemptible, but it was revolutionary. The
" Pariſian, enemy of royalty, ſaw that all obſta-
" cles were removed, and he overturned royalty;
" the agitators, ſeeing government diſorganiſed,
" began to attack the legiſlative body. They
" wiſhed to turn the revolution to their own ad-
" vantage. From that time, *there are no horrors*
" *of which the legiſlative body was not a witneſs.*
" From that time, the legiſlative body was obliged
" to beg, not the people, which does not need
" ſuch prayers, but the agitators, who wanted
" to maſſacre and deſtroy all. La Croix was
" obliged to go upon his knees to ſtop their fury.
" The legiſlative body ſuffered much. The palace
" wanted to attack ſucceſſively all thoſe who de-
" fended liberty. It failed, becauſe the legiſlative
" body was reſolved to ſave liberty. The legiſlative
" body thought, that a revolution ought to be
" the act of the whole nation, and decreed, that
" 20,000 men ſhould arrive in Paris. Deſpotiſm
" ſaw this with affright; it thought, that 20,000
" men added to the Pariſians might eſtabliſh
" and maintain order. Unfortunately, thoſe
" 20,000 men did not arrive, for they would have
" ſaved us from the anarchy that has reigned
" ſince the 10th of Auguſt. The 2d of Septem-
" ber 1 was greatly grieved. If we had then
" taken poſſeſſion of the municipal force, anarchy

" would

" would have been prevented. I approve of the " revolution of the 10th of Auguſt."

M. Cambon, who preſerved his credit with the convention longer than Robeſpierre himſelf, here avows the plan laid to dethrone the king, by ſending away his guards, &c. as we have endeavoured already to explain. He accuſes, nevertheleſs, the palace of attacking, ſucceſſively, all thoſe who wanted to defend liberty. Both cannot be true. The firſt aſſertion is proved by the decrees of the aſſembly, the ſecond is without any ſhadow of proof; therefore there is no heſitation which of the two deſerves moſt credit.

M. Cambon next declares, that intriguers wiſhed to profit by the revolution, and oppreſs the aſſembly of which he was a member; and from that time there were no horrors to which the aſſembly was not a witneſs. But who were thoſe intriguers? why he explains this by ſaying, if the municipality had been broke, all anarchy would have been prevented; it follows then, as clearly as any truth can follow, that the municipality which conducted the 10th of Auguſt, of which he approved, conducted the ſubſequent horrors; that is to ſay, M. Cambon approved of horrors, and called them patriotiſm and virtue, when directed againſt the court; but the ſame were horrors of

the moſt terrible ſort, the moment that the preſident of the aſſembly was obliged to go down upon his knees to avert them from the aſſembly.

This has been the uniform method in which the revolutioniſts have viewed the revolution; as long as pillage, maſſacre, and revolt, were employed againſt their enemies, it was virtue; but the moment it turned towards themſelves, it was the greateſt and moſt execrable horror: ſo that he who writes about the crimes and cruelties of the Jacobins only differs with themſelves in reſpect to the commencement of the horrors, but not about their exiſtence; in this all agree; and it is very lucky, that their condemnation coming from their own mouths, there is no room to diſpute about its juſtice.

The heroes and patriots of the 10th of Auguſt, the virtuous mayor, Danton, and his aſſociates, and Talien, the moderate Talien, conducted the horrors of which Cambon complains; Robeſpierre, Barrere, Collet d'Herbois, and the demi-god Marat, were likewiſe of the party on both occaſions. The fact is, that the perpetrators of both were exactly the ſame, as Cambon, without intending it, plainly ſhews; but as the maſſacres of which we are going to ſpeak preſently, could find no excuſe whatever, whereas that of the 10th of Auguſt, by the aid of falſity and fiction,

could

could be a little diminiſhed, it was found convenient to throw the former upon the ſhoulders of another ſet of anarchiſts who were leſs known, or who were contented to divide the dangers and the crimes in the way that would be moſt advantageous to their abominable cauſe.

As ſoon as the addreſs to the departments was diſpatched, and the people, literally tired with killing and pillaging, had become a little more tranquil, the aſſembly voted a ſum of money to the families of thoſe who had fallen on the 10th of Auguſt, and alſo decreed a public funeral ceremony, in order to ſhew that honour to the victims of revolt that ſo ſacred a duty required.

To this decre, of which the intention was certainly bad, as it tended to render honourable what was infamous, ſucceeded the cruelleſt and the moſt unjuſt decree that ever tyrant made.

The aſſembly, after decreeing the urgency of the caſe,* decrees,

Art. I. All thoſe eccleſiaſtics, who have not taken the oaths required, or who have retracted and perſiſted in their retraction, are ordered in

* Decreeing urgency was the method adopted when they wanted to be unſhackled by law, juſtice, humanity, or any former decrees.

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eight days to quit the limits of their reſpective departments, and in fifteen days the kingdom; this delay to be counted from the publication of the preſent decree.

Art. II. Conſiſts of rules for executing the above article.

Art. III. Thoſe who do not obey the preſent decree ſhall be baniſhed *à la Guyanne Françaiſe*.---[Here follows the manner of executing this article.]

Art. IV. Thoſe who leave the kingdom in a voluntary manner, are to have neither penſion nor revenue, but are to receive three livres for every ten leagues of the journey to the frontiers.*

Art. V. Every eccleſiaſtic, who ſhall remain after he has declared that he will go, or who ſhall return, ſhall be condemned to ten years impriſonment.

VI. All other eccleſiaſtics, who were not obliged by law to take the oath, whether regular or ſecular prieſts, clerks, or lay-brothers, without exception, ſhall be ſubjected to the above decrees, whenever by any exterior acts they ſhall have

* Equal to an Engliſh penny per mile.

cca-

occaſioned any troubles, or *when ſix houſekeepers in the department ſhall* demand their baniſhment.

Art. VII. Rules for executing the above decrees.

Art. VIII. Infirm prieſts and thoſe above ſixty years of age, are excepted.

IX. The eccleſiaſtics excepted, ſhall be aſſembled in the chief town of each department, in a houſe of which the municipality ſhall have the inſpection and the police.

The three remaining articles are to regulate the execution of the decree, which is the moſt cruel and unjuſt that ever was pronounced. The ſtranger who reads it, will imagine that he perceives a ray of humanity acroſs the injuſtice, when he ſees the eighth article, which makes an exception in favour of the aged and the infirm; but this was only a ray of cowardice and cruelty; thoſe aged and infirm, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, were reſerved for the maſſacres and ſlaughters which have ſince that time taken place at Paris, at Nantes, and through the whole kingdom, and which have ſerved to heap opprobrium on the French nation that perpetrated or permitted them.

It was this terrible decree which is ſo ſhameful to the French nation, that afforded England the oppor-

opportunity of diſtinguiſhing itſelf above all other nations for generoſity and liberality of ſentiment, by receiving with compaſſion, and ſupporting with liberality the exiled prieſts, who, in the end of that year, arrived in ſuch numbers from the perſecutions of their ſavage countrymen.

The victims of the deſpotiſm of Louis the Fourteenth, when he revoked the edict of Nantz, were well received, but they brought with them arts, induſtry, and capital; they were of our own religion, yet our generoſity towards them, then, was juſtly celebrated. The latter inſtance of Engliſh generoſity deſerves ſo much the greater praiſe, that it was entirely without any intereſt, that it was to men of a different religion, and has has been more extenſive and much longer continued.*

This

* It might with great propriety be recommended to the emigrants to keep up a better police amongſt themſelves than they do. Many have ſignified that France was more noble and more generous to the followers of James the Second of England, than to give them only two Louis a month; do theſe ungrateful ignorants know that James the Second had few followers, and moſt of them excellent ſoldiers, who ſerved Louis the Fourteenth well? It is to the emigrants themſelves to prevent ſuch ſcandalous ingratitude from being manifeſted; and it is recommended to thoſe worthy characters who have been placed at the head of the office for aſſiſting lay emigrants, to be circumſpect in how they apply money that is deſtined for the helpleſs, and not for thoſe who

This decree was followed by others in rapid ſucceſſion, which not being urgent, prove how far the aſſembly meant to adhere to its proteſtation of not augmenting its own power.

The deſtruction of all the ſtatues of bronze, to be converted into cannon; the annihilation of all claims for indemnity, for ſuch feudal rights as the conſtituent aſſembly had thought required any; the diviſion of waſte lands, and the ſuppreſſion of the order of merit of St. Louis, were decreed; and to complete the catalogue, the diviſion and ſale of the lands of all the emigrants followed.

Such decrees, admitting their juſtice, ought to have been left to the convention, if the legiſlative aſſembly had wiſhed not to extend its own power.

The regulations for calling a convention of the people were then next made; and as it had always been their method to put practice and principles in oppoſition to each other, it was ordered

keep chambermaids and valets. There are no valets allowed to a decayed Engliſh gentleman.—This hint is meant in juſtice to the deſerving emigrants, and to the Engliſh nation, which pays.—It is to be preſumed that it would be uſeleſs to ſay any more on this ſubject. This advice is for the advantage of thoſe to whom it is addreſſed.

by theſe regulations that the primary aſſemblies ſhould have no power to name their repreſentatives at the convention, they ſhould only have power to chuſe electors, who ſhould aſſemble and chuſe repreſentatives. This, which if the word national convention has any fixed meaning, is totally incompatible with ſuch meaning, gave a double ſcope for intrigue. The Jacobin emiſſaries had the double chance of gaining the preponderance in the primary aſſemblies, and in the electoral aſſembly.

The French nation had been all alive after the 14th of July; hope had re-animated order which inſurrection had deſtroyed; but after the 10th of Auguſt, there was no hope to effect ſuch re-animation, and accordingly the elections were conducted by only a ſmall portion of the nation, and thoſe of the moſt profligate and wicked. The convention has fairly ſhewn by its own conduct, what ſpirit reigned amongſt the electors.

To theſe decrees ſoon ſucceeded activity of execution, and it was pretty well underſtood, that as the decree againſt emigrants, and for dividing their lands, was an excellent expedient for enriching the nation, it would be well to *increaſe the number of emigrants*, or to puniſh thoſe who did not emigrate, in ſuch a manner as to put an end to the ancient race of proprietors in France.

For this purpoſe, arreſts and viſits in private houſes to diſcover ſuſpected perſons were inſtituted, under the inſpection of the bloody municipality. The ſection of Paris, which had but a few weeks before ſhewn their attachment to the conſtitution and to royalty, now ſhewed great alacrity in executing thoſe decrees of arreſt upon ſuſpicion. There were two hundred and eighty members of the Hotel de Ville, about ſix hundred officers belonging to the ſections, and moſt of them men whoſe names and manner of ſigning, as well as whoſe perſons were unknown in Paris. As all thoſe were active in accuſing, ſigning orders for arreſts, and executing thoſe orders, the number of perſons who were ſeized was very great. In this confuſion, all ſort of regard to truth in the accuſations was out of the queſtion, as being totally impoſſible to be aſcertained. Private vengeance did a great deal, and the deſire of pillage ſtill more. The members of the ſections having become the agents of the principal leaders, through fear, the whole of the national guards, with only a very few exceptions, were juſt as completely at the orders of the Brigands, as they had ever been at thoſe of Bailly and La Fayette; with this difference, that from willing ſoldiers who ſometimes ſpoke their mind, they were become obedient ſlaves, who durſt not even inquire into the motives of their maſters.

It was reſolved, according to the French cuſtom, to organiſe arreſtation; thoſe who had organiſed revolt and anarchy, might eaſily expect ſucceſs in ſo ſimple an operation as that of arreſting a few thouſands of individuals, who being ſeparated, could make no reſiſtance.

Under the pretence of ſearching for concealed arms, all the citizens, except thoſe who were to be employed by the municipality, were ordered to remain at home, the barriers were ſhut, and armed men were ſtationed at all the corners of the ſtreets; about one o'clock in the morning the ſearch began, by patroles of men with pikes, compoſed of hair-dreſſers, and workmen of the loweſt claſs, under the orders of commiſſaries of the ſections, who were little better than themſelves.*

This

* A good picture of this has been given by M. Peltier, in his *Dernier Tableaux de Paris*, printed in London for the author, it is as follows: "At ten o'clock at night, groups of ſoldiers, "placed at the angles of all the ſtreets, arreſted whoever was yet "found ſtraying about. Two hours had not yet been ſufficient "for thoſe who ſought a place of ſecrecy and ſurety againſt the "formidable inquiſition. The huſband fled from his wife, and "the father from his children, whom he preſſed to his boſom, "thinking it was for the laſt time. Every one thinks himſelf accu-"ſed; every one fears that amongſt their viſitors will be found "an enemy or a ſpy, or a ſervant who will diſcover his place of "refuge. One flies to the moſt diſtant quarter of the city; "here one is received, there one is repulſed, and the fatal mo-"ment which approaches, doubles the inquietude and anxiety.

This organization of impriſonment produced a conſiderable number of victims, although the precautions taken to eſcape were proportioned to the vengeance which thoſe who might be taken had to fear.

Parties had ſo often changed their maſters in Paris, that it was difficult to ſay who was ſafe, or who was not. The degraded Pariſians, by continually obeying the voice of the ſtrongeſt party, had alternately been the dupes of all, and few people could be certain whether or not they were ſafe; and thoſe whoſe public conduct could ſtand the teſt, had their private enemies to fear.

As the priſons were now nearly filled with victims, it was thought proper to prepare for the cruel ſcene, which the men of the 10th of Auguſt were determined to act.

It would be uſeleſs to give the names of the perſons who preſided at theſe maſſacres, becauſe they were almoſt all unheard of till then, and moſt of them have never been heard of ſince; but as

" Decency is in a degree violated by friendſhip; here the bro-
" ther ſhares the bed of his ſiſter, and there chaſtity and virtue
" implore an aſylum from vice; and many, whoſe lives had
" been without a ſtain, ſeek ſecurity under the curtains of proſ-
" titution. Every where perſons and property are concealed;
" every where the interrupted ſounds of the muffled hammer are
" heard ſtriking with a ſlow and fearful ſtroke."

ſome

ſome of them were known, and ſome ſtill endeavour to paſs upon the world for men of philoſophy and humanity, they deſerve to be noticed.

Petion, Manuel, and Danton had long laboured together in bringing about the ſecond revolution, by their manœuvres at the Hotel de Ville. Marat, in the club of the Cordeliers, with Huguenin (the ſame who had addreſſed the king with inſolence on the 20th of June) Panis, Oſſelin, and Talien.

Robeſpierre, Vigaud, Panis, Bourdon, l'Huillhier, of the Jacobin club, and Chabot, Merlin, and Baziere, of the legiſlative aſſembly and Jacobin club. It was with the aſſiſtance, however, of many more, that theſe leaders effected their cruel purpoſe. Agents and principals there are ſuppoſed to have been about nine hundred active perſons. Some thouſands, who by a wicked and cruel diſpoſition, were led occaſionally to aid in the oppreſſions and arreſts, but not directly in the murders; and the whole city of Paris, conſiſting of about one hundred thouſand able bodied men, looked baſely on.

The uſual art of exciting an alarm was employed to frighten the people at large, as well as the national aſſembly.

When the aſſembly had diſcovered that the municipality was going on ſo faſt with arreſts, and that ſome of its members were amongſt the number arreſted; and when it had reaſon, as M. Cambon declared afterwards, to fear that its own ſafety was threatened, it broke the municipality*. On the 30th the municipality ſat and deliberated, and on the 31ſt, Petion, the beloved, the virtuous Petion, whom they had not ventured to diſgrace along with the other members, arrived at the head of a deputation, and *coolly menaced the aſſembly* with an inſurrection if they did not annul the decree. Talien delivered a diſcourſe, which propoſed plans of a conciliation of parties, and of a new organization of the municipality, ſo that the aſſembly was under the neceſſity of leaving its decree without execution.†

So

* How different to break the municipality now, from the flattery beſtowed on Petion the firſt day of the revolt, who was the conducter of the municipality. It is plain, when the aſſembly was guilty of ſuch adulation to Petion, as is contained in the decree of the 10th of Auguſt, they were ignorant that they were giving themſelves a maſter; or if they were not, the influence of fear was ſo great, that it overbalanced the danger that was to be apprehended from the power of Petion.

† Huguenin, who was preſident of the municipality, being ſent for, not becauſe he had cauſed three thouſand reſpectable and innocent perſons to be arreſted, but becauſe he attempted to arreſt, or rather had ſummoned to appear, a clerk belonging to Briſſot's newſpaper office, declared to the aſſembly that the municipality

So much for the ſyſtem of terror with reſpect to the aſſembly, which was threatened with the people; with reſpect to the people, they were threatened with the Duke of Brunſwick and the King of Pruſſia, and Danton, the chief of the band of conſpirators, by promiſes and threats, procured from the aſſembly on the 2d of September, a decree that walking commiſſaries ſhould be named to execute the will and ſecond the good intentions of the executive power, and to aid him to ſave the country; and that whoever refuſed to give up his arms, or to ſerve in the army, ſhould be declared a traitor to his country, and puniſhed with death, and alſo that an addreſs to the people ſhould be publiſhed.

Danton was no ſooner furniſhed with thoſe powers, than the ambulating commiſſaries were named, the barriers were ſhut, and the municipality publiſhed the following proclamation:

"Citizens, the enemy is at the gates of Paris, "Verdun can only hold out eight days, let us "aſſemble quickly at the Champ de Mars, and "there form an army of 60,000 men to march "againſt the enemy."

cipality had unlimited powers, that it was the repreſentative of the ſovereign of Paris.—It would be difficult to conceive an overthrow of order, authority, and right more complete than what was exhibited at this time.

The

The tocſin was ſounded, and the cannon of of alarm fired, and the maſſacre ready to begin; but till a pretext is found for the firſt murder, the people are not ſufficiently animated to ſecond the fury of their chiefs; it is therefore neceſſary to find a pretext for beginning, and then all the difficulty is over.

People were diſpatched into all quarters of Paris to perſuade the curious and the idle, that as the priſons were full of ariſtocrats and ſuſpected perſons, and that neceſſity obliged the majority of the inhabitants to march againſt the enemy, it would be dangerous to leave their wives and children to be maſſacred by the ariſtocrats, who had a deſign to eſcape from priſon, and deliver up the town to pillage, and all the horrors of which ariſtocrats are ſuppoſed capable.

Whilſt a general terror was thus inſtantaneouſly ſpread through the city, while the tocſin was ſounding, and every thing wore the appearance of the greateſt danger, different bands of aſſaſſins, but none of them very numerous, and all of them headed by ſome of the Marſeillois, went to different priſons.

Several carriages, leaving Paris with ſome of the prieſts who were exiled by the unjuſt decree we have already ſeen, were ſtopt at the gates,

and

and carried back to the abbey priſon, and the convent of Carmelites, which was alſo employed as a priſon. As the laſt of theſe unfortunate men were deſcending, one of the aſſaſſins pretended that *he ſaw them making ſigns to the other priſoners*, and that a general mutiny was intended; immediately all of them, to the number of about twenty, were maſſacred.

The noiſe of this immediately ſpread through Paris, and ſerved as the ſignal for beginning the work of carnage; it was the proof that the aſſaſſins were not oppoſed by the national guards, and from that inſtant the audacity of thoſe who were employed to ſhed innocent blood was without reſiſtance or controul.

In the convent of the Carmelites were above three hundred clergymen, againſt not one of whom was there any accuſation, and of whom many were diſtinguiſhed for learning, piety, and good actions.

The Archbiſhop of Arles, the Biſhop of Beauvais, and the Biſhop of Saintes, whoſe Chriſtian virtues were well known, were the firſt to fall beneath the ſwords of the aſſaſſins.* The active aſ-

ſaſſins

* The murderers on their arrival called out for the Archbiſhop of Arles, whom they did not know, and whom none of his

ſaſſins were few in number, and the national guards who were at the gates, were more numerous than they.

The maſſacre was in the garden of the convent, adjoining to which was the chapel; there the unfortunate victims were fired upon as if they had been wild beaſts in the foreſt, and when their aſſaſſins were ſatiated with that mode of cruelty, they were all forced to enter into the chapel, from which the murderers brought them out one by one, and put to death in the garden.

Two hundred and forty-four innocent men were in this manner maſſacred, before eight o'clock of the Sunday evening, by a handful of murderers, and the cowardly national guards ſtood looking on.* [*Note* Q.] The maſſacre at the Abbey

his companions in misfortune would point out.—When at laſt they diſcovered him, one of them cried out—"So, you are "the Archbiſhop of Arles?"—"Yes, gentlemen, I am."—"Ah, wretch, it is then you who ſhed the blood of the patriots "of Arles."—"No, gentlemen, I never ſhed any blood, nor "did harm to any man in my life."—"Well, then, I ſhall "ſhew you how I can ſhed your's," and at the inſtant he ſtruck the venerable prelate on the forehead with his ſabre; this murder was ſoon completed with pikes and bayonets.

* There were, by all accounts, even thoſe of the party which wanted to make all Paris ſhare in the guilt of the maſſacre, not above an hundred aſſaſſins; thoſe, it has been proved, were paid, and it is certain that Manuel, the right-hand man of the mayor at

Abbey priſon was ſuſpended after the twenty prieſts who had been ſtopped at the barriers, but re-commenced about an hour after with the murder of the Swiſs officers, who were ſhut up there ſince the 10th of Auguſt, and whoſe crimes, in the opinion of the people, were too well proved already to need any farther inquiry.

The loyal Swiſs being diſpatched, the other priſoners, who were very numerous and of all claſſes and conditions, underwent a ſort of trial before a dozen judges named by the municipality. The firſt and chief care of this bloody tribunal was to demand the effects of the priſoners; their interrogation was ſhort, and the execution inſtantaneous and cruel. Thoſe who were condemned (and very few were not) upon ſuſpicion, or for being related to ſuſpected perſons, were cut down with ſabres by the furious murderers at the door, amidſt the cries of *Vive la liberté, vive la republique.*

The number of aſſaſſins was inconſiderable here, as at the convent of Carmelites, but the circumſtances are ſo extraordinary, and give ſo

at that time, had three days before ſignified in very plain terms what was to be expected. As for the national guards, there were three times as many of them as there were of the aſſaſſins, they are at liberty to chuſe between the character of inhuman cowardly ſoldiers or wicked accomplices.

ter-

terrible a proof of the ferocity and depravity of the French nation, that the relation ſo intereſting, and undoubtedly true, of M. de St. Meard, formerly a captain in the regiment de roi, one of the priſoners, merits a particular attention. [*Note* R.] This gentleman was an ariſtocrat, and had been a privileged one, but he was alſo an amiable and a reaſonable one. Many people were maſſacred nevertheleſs, who had been leſs active than St. Meard againſt the revolution, but who had not his preſence of mind to convert their oppoſition to the conſtitution into true patriotiſm, which, it is clear, thoſe who overturned the conſtitution muſt have conſidered it to be.*

Maillard, the ſame who had conducted the expedition to Verſailles on the 4th of October, 1789, was preſident of this tribunal, as Huguenin, who conducted that to the Thuilleries on the 20th of June, 1792, was at the municipality; ſo that the road to power and importance in this new order of things, was preciſely that inſurrection of which the firſt philoſophers of the revolution vaunted ſo much.

* St. Meard does not, probably, venture to give the real reaſon for his delivery. It is probable, that the tribunal wiſhed to let ſome one eſcape, who, by publiſhing his trial, might ſhew, that they did not put the priſoners to death without judgment, and St. Meard was the proper man.

As

As it is not of ſo much importance to know, in what manner the flames conſume an edifice, as to know in what manner it was ſet on fire, and to aſcertain the reſult of the deſtruction, it is neceſſary to ſeize all thoſe circumſtances which ſhew the connection between the firſt principles and the laſt exceſſes. They are eaſily to be ſeen by a thouſand inſtances, and therefore it is that La Fayette, Necker, and the firſt inſtigators of the revolution, are conſidered as more dangerous men than Maillard and Huguenin.

The bonds of ſociety muſt already be broken, when ſuch men as the two preſidents of the maſſacre are capable of doing much miſchief. In any regular government they could but commit a theft or a murder, and be ſent to the gallows; but thoſe who, aided by a good reputation, rank in life and friends, employ themſelves in looſening the bonds of ſociety, are really dangerous to the whole; and ſo dangerous, that unleſs a method is diſcovered, of protecting free governments from the attacks of FACTIOUS PHILOSOPHERS, POLITICAL DIVINES, and REFORMING PHILANTHROPISTS, free government will become impoſſible: the rights of men, the reveries of Rouſſeau, the ſophiſms of Seyeyes, led to the bloody tribunal of which we have been ſpeaking, and to which we muſt yet with reluctance return.

One

One hundred and eighty priſoners were maſſacred in the Abbey, amongſt whom were many eccleſiaſtics and gentlemen of unblemiſhed character, and againſt none of whom was there any known accuſation; ſixty-five were diſmiſſed, and about an equal number diſappeared whoſe fate is uncertain; in all above 300 innocent perſons.

The maſſacre of the Conciergerie of the Palais de Juſtice, where the tribunal was actually ſitting, and employed in judging Major Bachman, of the Swiſs guards, began nearly at the ſame time with that of the Abbey St. Germain. Eight Swiſs officers who were to have been tried, and other priſoners who were waiting their judgments, ſome of which latter were probably guilty, to the number of eighty-five in all, were maſſacred without form of proceſs.

Two hundred priſoners,* at the priſon of the Great Chatelet, ſhared the ſame fate with thoſe already

* Amongſt theſe priſoners was a woman who formerly ſold flowers, and who, in a fit of jealouſy, had mutilated her lover, one of the revolted French guards, in a very barbarous and ſhameful manner. She had been condemned, but obtained a reſpite for ſome time. The rage of the murderers was redoubled on ſeeing the woman who had thus murdered one of their companions; ſhe was tied to a ſtake, her feet nailed to the ground, her breaſts cut off with a ſabre, and then tortured with lighted torches and pointed inſtruments, in a more cruel and

already mentioned. Many of theſe were confined upon ſuſpicion of forgery, or of paſſing falſe aſſignats, others for crimes of a private nature, but none of them had been tried or condemned.

Seventy-three condemned felons, who were to be ſent to the gallies, were impriſoned in a cloiſter,* and there they were maſſacred: this ſerved as a proof, for Petion and the other inſtigators of the whole, that the hatred of the people for crimes and criminals was the prime motive of action.

The maſſacre of forty-five unfortunate women of the town, at the hoſpital or work-houſe of the Salpetriere, furniſhed another argument for the virtuous mayor and his noble accomplices in favour of the juſt vengeance of the people!!!

The maſſacre at the Bicetre, which was both a priſon and an hoſpital, where the guilty, the ſick, the wounded, and thoſe in a deranged ſtate of mind, were ſhut up together, was the longeſt and the moſt dreadful of all. This begun when the others were finiſhed.

and brutal manner than it would be fit to deſcribe, or than any of the North American Indians treat their priſoners. This was the reſult of three years experience in the art of cruelty.

* The cloiſter St. Bernard.

As the great number of the priſoners and the certainty of their fate inſpired them with the deſire of reſiſting, and with ſome hopes of ſucceſs, though in irons, they prepared for defence. The aſſailants brought cannons charged with grape ſhot to the attack, and, in the midſt of ſlaughter and brutal inſult, fired upon the priſoners confined in the courts as they ran from one ſide to the other to avoid deſtruction. They ſhouted applauſe at the number of miſerables who fell at one diſcharge, and when they thought they were ſufficiently diminiſhed, the remainder were ſhot with ſmall arms by way of amuſement.

This infernal carnage laſted a week, night and day without interruption; and the number of victims certainly exceeded four-thouſand, but many are of opinion they were nearer to ſix thouſand.

Petion appeared towards the end of this terrible ſcene, but was not well received by the murderers. They had begun the work for his pleaſure, and they determined to finiſh it for their own. It was thus Petion had arrived on the 20th of June to compliment the people on the *calm dignity* with which they had inſulted the king; he now arrived, that on a future day he might exclaim againſt thoſe maſſacres, ſhould it be convenient; and the murderers ſeem to have been

been aware of his deſign, by the rough manner in which he was received. That ſtrangers and poſterity may never heſitate a moment in joining in this opinion, it may be well to know that the *mayor's palace* was ſo near to two of the priſons, that the cries of the dying could be diſtinctly heard from it, and that it was in the centre between all the other priſons, ſo that in twenty minutes he might have tranſported himſelf, with the armed force which was at his command, to any one of the ſcenes of ſlaughter.*

The maſſacre at the priſon of the Hotel de la Force had been begun on the ſecond of the month; but a few only were that day deſtroyed. Two municipal officers, Hebert and l'Huillier, preſided there nearly in the ſame manner as Maillard did at the Abbey.

It was in this priſon that the Princeſs de Lamballe, and the other attendants on the queen, were confined. A municipal officer had thought proper to leave that princeſs there, when the evening before he had delivered twenty-four women, amongſt whom were ſeveral of the queen's attendants.

* On the 27th of Auguſt, when the aſſembly ſuſpended the municipality, the armed force of Paris was placed at the diſpoſal of M. Petion.

About eight o'clock in the morning of the third, this princeſs, whoſe only crime was that of an unconquerable and ſincere attachment to her royal miſtreſs, and her hatred equally unconquerable to the murderer of her huſband, the Duke of Orleans, was called up by two national guards, who compelled her to deſcend, in order that ſhe might be tranſferred to another priſon, though her death was determined on, and took place in leſs than half an hour after.*

It

* When the princeſs arrived at the bloody tribunal ſhe was almoſt deprived of her ſenſes, and had twice fainted away with the cries of the dying, and the horrible appearance of the murderers covered with blood. She was interrogated as follows:

Judge. Who are you?

Princeſs. Maria Louiſa, Princeſs of Savoy.

Judge. What is your employment?

Princeſs. Superintendant of the queen's houſhold.

Judge. Are you acquainted with the plots of the court on the 10th of Auguſt?

Princeſs. I know not if there were any plots on the 10th of Auguſt; but I am certain I knew of none.

Judge. Take the oath of liberty and equality, and of hatred to the king, to the queen, and to royalty.

Princeſs. I will readily take the two firſt, but I cannot take the laſt; it is not in my heart.

A perſon who was there ſaid in her ear, ſwear, or you are a dead woman. The princeſs lifted up her eyes without ſaying a word, and went towards the door. The preſident gave the uſual ſign for immediate execution, *(qu'on elargiſſe la priſoniere)* and in an inſtant ſhe was aſſaſſinated with ſabres, pikes, and bayonets. Her cloaths were ſtripped off, and the naked body expoſed

It is generally believed, that this princeſs could have purchaſed her life on no other terms than that of fabricating charges againſt the queen; but that, on ſuch conditions, ſhe would not only have been ſafe, but under the particular protection of the aſſaſſins. And if human nature is diſgraced and degraded by the unexampled rage, brutal and beaſtly fury of her murderers, it is ennobled by the virtuous firmneſs of a devoted woman, under one of the moſt terrible circumſtances which can be conceived.

The total number of perſons who ſuffered at the Hotel de la Force was 164.

To the maſſacres already related muſt be added that of the priſoners ſent for from Orleans at the ſame time, on pretence of conducting them to Paris. Thoſe priſoners, ſent there on ſuſpicion for crimes of high treaſon, or ſedition, or inciviſm, or for being attached to the ancient monarchy, had not been judged with that rapidity

poſed to the moſt abominable inſults. After laying for ſeveral hours as a ſpectacle to the curious, and a ſport to the inhuman rabble, it was cut in pieces. The head was carried on a pole to the temple, and expoſed to the view of the royal priſoners, who expected the ſame fate. The king was compelled to approach the window and look at it: the queen and Madame Elizabeth had fainted away. The Duke of Orleans gave a dinner to ſome Engliſh democrats that day, and he was gratified with the ſight of this bloody trophy juſt before they ſet down to table.

that ſuited the preſent ſtate of the revolution. The high court of Orleans, as it was called, had been organized, and the judges named, when the revolution was not quite ſo far advanced in its progreſs towards liberty and equality; and, being at a diſtance from Paris, the judges had not been able to keep pace with the Jacobin club, to which they had belonged, ſo that it was ſuſpected the accuſed might eſcape puniſhment.

It would be uſeleſs to relate the perfidious manner in which they were ſeized at Orleans, and conducted to Verſailles, there to be maſſacred in the preſence of the national guards and municipal officers, without any attempt being made to ſave them.

The revolution had now taken ſo horrible and ſo decided a turn; the different rulers, whether Girondiſts or Mountaineers,* were all ſo evidently culpable, and ſo deeply immerſed in guilt, that there is neither room nor occaſion for any diſpute about the difference of culpability. It might do for themſelves to make diſtinctions and to claim one action as patriotiſm, and blame another as oppreſſion and injuſtice; but we muſt confeſs that, except to themſelves, no ſuch diſtinctions are apparent.

* It was by this latter name that the moſt violent party was diſtinguiſhed.

It would be uſeleſs to fatigue ourſelves by following out the manœuvres of the leading parties, in order to conceal their participation; that would be ſuppoſing a poſſibility of doubt concerning their guilt, when there can be none.* All that can be admitted is, that there were ſome individuals who co-operated more through fear than through guilt; but that there is any difference of criminality amongſt the leaders, we muſt abſolutely deny, when the public force was ten times more than ſufficient to have prevented the maſſacres from beginning, or to have ſtopped them in the firſt hour when begun.

If there was any one more decidedly culpable than the others, it ſeems to have been Danton; he was

* The whole number maſſacred from the 2d of September till the 9th, is very nearly as under:

At the hoſpital of the Carmelites and St. Furmer	244
the abbey of St. Germain, - - - -	180
the cloiſter of the Bernardins - - -	73
the Conciergerie - - - - - -	85
the hoſpital ofSalpetriere - - - -	45
the priſon of the Chatelet - - - -	214
the hotel de la Force - - - - -	164
Verſailles, the priſoners from Orleans - -	47
	1052
Suppoſed to be maſſacred at the Bicetre - -	4000
At the loweſt	5052

more active in this than Robeſpierre or Briſſot, yet Robeſpierre has been conſidered ſince as the *ne plus ultra* of cruelty; ſo that we are at laſt obliged to confeſs that their criminality is *without dimenſion*, ſince it eludes all effort to meaſure it.

Let us turn away from theſe dreadful ſcenes a moment, and conſider the language of Roland, who, as firſt miniſter, might have made an effort to ſtop this bloody career. Roland, who was the chief of the party, which affected to blame theſe exceſſes: from his letter we ſhall ſee that it was to the continuation of inſurrection and inſubordination that he attributed all this. The whole of the letter is long, and much of it conſiſts of profeſſion of faith, and a regard to conſcience, which, if it had ſpoke very loudly, would have told him that he ſhould have been protecting his fellow creatures, and exacting obedience to the law, in preference to writing long letters on the 4th of September; but the following phraſes are complete, without any thing added or taken away that may alter their meaning.

"I know that revolutions are not to be calcu-
"lated by common rules; but I know likewiſe,
"that the power which makes them ought ſoon to
"arrange itſelf under obedience to the law, if
"total deſtruction is not intended. The anger of
"the people and the movement of inſurrection are
"com-

" comparable to the action of a torrent, which " overturns obſtacles which no other power is " able to deſtroy, but of which the overſpreading " will carry far and wide the ravage and devaſta- " tion, if it does not ſoon return to its uſual " courſe. The day of the 10th of Auguſt it is " evident was neceſſary; without it we ſhould " have been loſt; the court had prepared long " before to complete its treaſons, by ſpreading the " ſtandard of death over Paris, and to reign by fear. " The ſentiment of the people, always juſt and " ready when its opinion is not corrupted, has " averted the treaſon, and turned it againſt the " conſpirators.

" It is in the nature of things, and of the hu- " man heart, that victory ſhould be followed by " a certain degree of exceſs; the ſea, agitated by " a tempeſt, roars after the tempeſt is over, but " every thing has its bounds, where it ought at " laſt to be terminated.

" If diſorganization becomes a matter of habit " and cuſtom; if men, zealous, but without " knowledge and ſkill, pretend to mix perpe- " tually with adminiſtration, and to ſtop its " courſe; if ſupported by ſome popular favour, " obtained by a great degree of ardour, and main- " tained by a ſtill greater facility of making ha- " rangues, they ſpread abroad, miſtruſt and ſow

" calumny

" calumny and accuſation, excite fury, and dic-
" tate proſcriptions---the government is then
" only a ſhadow, it is nothing, and a good man
" ſhould retire from the helm of affairs, which he
" can no longer guide, and which is intended for
" action, and not for ſhow."

No declaration againſt anarchy can be plainer than this, M. Bailly or La Fayette could not have ſpoken better, and it is preciſely what Briſſot ſaid, ſix months after, when he begun to loſe ſight of the capital, and to approach the Tarpeian rock. To make a diſtinction amongſt the men who approve of inſurrection, is an abſurdity; they all agree perfectly in the principles, and only vary in the application, and that variation has only a regard to themſelves. The enemy who attacks and batters down a city, when he is once in poſſeſſion of the place, builds up its houſes, and repairs the fortifications; and ſo would thoſe who patronize revolt wiſh to do, but they ſhould not liken revolt, when ſupported by principle, to a river that is to return to its bed; it ſhould be likened to a fire that never ceaſes till all is conſumed. Have not all thoſe who have witneſſed the revolution, ſeen that the habit of revolt was ſubverſive of order, law, and liberty, as Roland ſays? and is it not evident, that what men are taught to conſider as a duty, is very likely to become a habit with *good* citizens? Why then, inſtead

ſtead of preaching eternally againſt revolt carried too far, and continued too long, do not they at once declare that revolt is illegal, and in place of being a duty, is a crime? This is the language evidently that ought to be ſpoke, but each one willing to reſerve to himſelf and friends the privilege of revolting, when to them it ſeems proper, refuſes to make this declaration, and each one has in the end fallen a ſacrifice to this terrible article of the declaration of rights.

Since the deſtruction of the conſtitution, and the cruelties which we have ſeen inſurrection and anarchy produce, the Jacobins in other countries, who have not yet got the upper hand, have changed their batteries; they pretend to diſapprove of the crimes, but they ſtill preſerve their attachment to thoſe principles which laid the foundation, and paved the way for them; but let them not think they are to impoſe upon ſociety by ſo flimſy a device. Petion ſaid, that if the patriots perſecuted thoſe who did not wear red caps, that the ariſtocrats would put them on too, and paſs for republicans, and he was probably very right. We muſt pay the ſame attention to the Jacobins, who finding it is totally impoſſible not to join in condemning the horrors lately committed in France, are as loud on that ſubject as any body elſe; it is not, therefore, by that, that they are to be known, but by their invariable endeavours to create

create diſcontent, and after that, quietly and calmly, under the cloak of patriotiſm and philanthropy, excite inſurrection, or at leaſt, by degrees, undermine regular government, ſo as to bring on inſurrection.

It was in this ſituation of the capital, that the elections for the national convention begun; and, without doubt, it was with an intention to ſhew the whole nation what ſort of repreſentatives it would be ſafe for them to chuſe, that the members of the municipality ſent a circular addreſs to all the other municipalities in the kingdom.* The

* The letter of municipality runs thus:

" Brothers and Friends,

" A terrible conſpiracy having been entered into by the court " to deſtroy all the patriots in the French empire, in which " plot a great number of the members of the national aſſembly " were concerned, obliged the common council of the city of " Paris to have recourſe to the power of the people, in order " to ſave the nation. Nothing has been neglected by us, and " the aſſembly itſelf has rendered honourable teſtimony of our " conduct. But who would have thought, after that, that new " conſpiracies, not leſs atrocious, were planned in ſilence; " they broke out at the moment when the national aſſembly, " forgetting the merits of the municipality, was going to diſ- " ſolve it as a reward for its civiſm. At that news, public " clamours aroſe from all parts, and made the aſſembly feel " the urgent neceſſity of uniting itſelf with the people, and " reſtoring the municipality to its former power.

" Proud of having thus obtained fully the national confidence, " which we ſhall always ſtrive to deſerve more and more; " placed

The atrocity is equal to any thing that is to be found in hiſtory, both for the falſities it contains, and for the ſentiments, if they can be called by that name.

It

" placed in the center of all the conſpiracies, we ſhall not be " fully ſatisfied with our conduct until we ſhall have obtained " your approbation, the object of all our views, and which we " ſhall not think ourſelves certain of poſſeſſing, until all the " departments ſhall have ſanctioned the meaſures which we " have taken to ſave the nation.

" Profeſſing the pureſt principles of the moſt perfect equa- " lity, deſiring no other privilege than that of being the " firſt to immolate ourſelves for the good of our country, we " ſhall be ready to put ourſelves on a level with the ſmalleſt " municipality of the ſtate, the moment that our country ſhall " have nothing more to fear from the multitudes of ferocious " enemies who approach the capital.

" We, the commons of Paris, haſten to inform our brothers " and friends of all the departments, that a part of the ferocious " conſpirators detained in the priſons, has been put to death " by the people, *an act of juſtice* which appeared to them in- " diſpenſable to keep in awe thoſe legions of traitors who are " concealed within our walls, at the moment when the patriots " were about to march againſt the enemy, and without doubt " the whole nation will adopt the meaſure, after ſo long a train " of treaſons have conducted us to the borders of the abyſs, " which was ſo neceſſary for the public ſafety, and that every " Frenchman will cry out with the Pariſians, let us march " againſt the enemy, but do not let us leave behind us traitors " who will murder our wives and children. Friends and Bro- " thers, we expect that ſome of you will come to our aſſiſtance, " and help us to repulſe the numerous legions of tyrants who " have ſworn the deſtruction of the French. We ſhall jointly

" ſave

It is perfectly evident by this letter, which was circulated under the counter-ſign of Danton, the miniſter of juſtice, that the intention of its writers was to procure the approbation of the whole nation, to the maſſacres which they avowed, and to make ſimilar meaſures to be adopted, as they plainly expreſs themſelves; giving for a reaſon, the neceſſity of protecting their wives and children from having their throats cut by the priſoners in the different jails.

At this time there were more than ſeventy thouſand ſuſpected perſons in the different priſons in France, and the Jacobin club wrote to all its correſpondents, to ſecond this purification, as they called it, of the kingdom.

The addreſs from the national aſſembly, and this from the municipality and Jacobin club, were circulated all through the kingdom, and it was under the impreſſions which ſuch productions were capable of inſpiring, that the aſſemblies were

" ſave our country, and we ſhall owe you the praiſe of having
" ſaved it from the brink of ruin.

(" Signed,)

" The adminiſtrators of the committee of public ſafety,
" and the adminiſtrators adjoined, Pierre Duplain,
" Panis, Serjent, l'Infant, Jourdaill, Marat l'ami
" du peuple, de Torgas, le Clerc, Dufortre, Celly,
" conſtituted by the commons of Paris, and ſitting
" at the houſe of the Mayor of Paris."

held

held for chuſing the repreſentatives for the national convention.

We ſee how the ſame arts have all along been practiſed to prevent the proprietors and lovers of peace from aſſiſting at elections. The ſans culottes, or rabble, had completely triumphed, and they proclaimed in one breath their ſanguinary victory and their ſanguinary intentions; ſo that moderate men hid their heads, and the convention was choſen of the vileſt, the moſt deſpicable, and moſt deſperate men in the kingdom.

The robberies which were committed during all theſe arreſts and murders, are eaſily to be conceived; the numbers whom fear and danger drove out of the country were immenſe, and the municipal officers and members of the Jacobin club who gave them, or procured for them paſſports, enriched themſelves by the exaction of enormous ſums, and the nation by the forfeiture of the eſtates of thoſe who fled.* Certainly thoſe emigrants who left France under ſuch circumſtances, are not to be accuſed either of want of courage or want of loyalty; France was no longer habitable for any but brigands, and it is only matter of wonder that ſo few emigrated.

* Five thouſand pounds ſterling were frequently given only for a paſſport, and many gave five hundred and leſſer ſums, ſo that the municipal officers who came into place, ſome of them without ſhoes, ſoon became rich.

While

While all theſe things were going on, M. Claviere, placed at the head of the contributions, only for the ſake of appearances, as no contributions were levied, ſet about laying other nations under contribution, by negociations upon the different changes in Europe.

Agents were ſent to London, Amſterdam, Madrid, and to every country, who had orders to negociate bills on Paris, payable (as all the world knows) in aſſignats. Thoſe bills being diſcounted in foreign countries, the value in *ſpecie was remitted to France:* when they became due, they were paid according to the courſe of exchange, but before this could be converted into gold or ſilver, a few aſſaſſins were hired to patrole the ſtreets, and threaten all thoſe who ſold gold or ſilver;* three of theſe ſellers loſt their lives, and many were pillaged; at other times, when the change was wanted, to be raiſed on purpoſe to draw new bills, Claviere ſent men to offer more gold for ſale than was wanted. This operation, which is eaſily conceived by thoſe who underſtand any thing of the courſe of exchange, was called pumping the banks. A

* The gold and ſilver were ſold by porters in the ſtreets, ſome of whom ſold for their own account, but moſt of them for monied men, who did not appear. Sometimes they were encouraged in this traffic, and ſometimes chaſed away. Some were even maſſacred, and gold fell or roſe in price according to the riſk run by theſe men.

great part of the bankruptcies of 1793, in England, were occaſioned by this operation, which had made gold ſcarce in London; and if an end had not been put to it by the war, or ſome other cauſe, there is no ſaying to what a pitch it might have been carried, for the merchants on the Change of London did not perceive the ſnare; and though they were aſtoniſhed that the courſe of exchange grew more favourable to France while the Duke of Brunſwick was marching to Paris, yet the hope of gaining by a quick operation, led them into ſpeculations, which muſt have been very hurtful to many individuals, and were fraught with ruin to the nation.

It was about this ſame time, that the guard-meuble, containing all the jewels of the crown, was robbed by the patriots of the aſſembly; and as the time was foreſeen, when paper would no longer ſerve to buy the neceſſaries of life, which became every day more rare, every effort was made to heap up gold and ſilver in the mint.

Had the nations of Europe taken any pains to ſtudy the manœuvres of theſe revolutionary gentlemen, a great part of their plans would have been fruſtrated; but no pains were taken by any nation: and if it had been poſſible for the Girondiſt or Gaſcon party to have kept inſurrection under, ſo as to let their plans have time fully to

operate, matters would have been much worſe than they were with other nations.

It will be conſidered, no doubt, as a very ſingular circumſtance, that though the conduct of the rulers of France was ſuch as all men, ſince the days of Nero and Caligula, have joined in condemning, yet, in every other nation in Europe, their agents were treated with a certain ſort of diſtinction by certain men, who pretend a greater love for juſtice and of a pure conſtitution, and a greater zeal for the welfare of the people, than any others. In England, M. Chauvelin, who had been ſent as ambaſſador by Louis XVI. became the chargé d'affaire of Santerre, Panis, and Petion, and yet every door in England was not ſhut againſt him, for even ſome friends of the people entered his door; and if an ill-conducted, and hitherto unſucceſsful but neceſſary war, had not put an end to the intrigues, which the daring French agents were encouraged and ſeconded in here, we ſhould, in all probability, long ere now have had a committee of brewers and blackguards ſitting at the Manſion-houſe, and giving orders to arreſt all rich and ſuſpected perſons, to ſhut up the Change, and maſſacre all the priſoners in the jails of the kingdom. We have ſeen the reſults of philoſophical maxims, and we find, that the commanders of the maſſacres of September do not, on account of the

innocent blood that they have ſpilt, abate one degree of their claims to the title of patriots; on the contrary, they celebrate thoſe horrors by new names invented for the purpoſe, and interlard their addreſſes to the people with the ſame declaration of virtue, conſcience, and purity of intention, that are to be found coming from the mouths of all patriots.*

* Soveraign juſtice, the ſoveraign murderers, Septemberizers, purifying meaſures. Such were the names given by the *bavarding* murderers to the crimes of their companions.

CHAP. XI.

Beginning of the reign of Robeſpierre---Robeſpierre vindicated againſt the revolutioniſts, the ariſtocrats, and the whole of mankind—The trial of the king ---Probable motive---Vanity of democrats---Succeſs of the republican armies---Condemnation and death of the king---New tumults in the convention, and fall of Briſſot's party.

THE reign of terror was now begun, and all parties took a more or leſs active hand in it; but the revolutioniſts themſelves were not purified; terror was not yet organiſed and reduced to a ſyſtem, it was not completely ſpread over the kingdom, it had only come to perfection in Paris, and it was to Robeſpierre, that much calumniated man, that human nature, but, above all, the French nation, has the obligation of reducing to method and ſyſtem, what all parties contended was right, but what they all alledged might ſometimes be abuſed. There is nothing like theory and ſyſtem for preventing abuſe, and this, Robeſpierre, ſo much feared during his life, and calumniated ſince his death, perceiving, ſtarted from

the obſcurity in which he had for ſome time been,* to eſtabliſh upon a more regular and ſolid baſis the bleſſings of liberty, equality, terror, and the guillotine.

It might pleaſe Briſſot, Danton, Hebert, and all the other heads of parties, who were cruſhed by Robeſpierre, to declaim againſt him. It may pleaſe Talien, Collot d'Herbois, and Barrere, who have ſeen him fall in his turn under their power, to blame the conduct of Robeſpierre. The former, as well as the latter, had perſonal reaſons, and were actuated by malice, but to a true revolutionary philanthropiſt, to a man who approves of the revolutionary meaſures adopted in France, MAXIMILIAN ROBESPIERRE will ſeem not only a blameleſs but an illuſtrious and diſtinguiſhed character.

Let us examine the claims of this man to the gratitude of the revolutioniſts, and we ſhall find that they are very great; he is now no more, he has now as many enemies as he formerly had ſlaves, but thoſe who were never his ſlaves, are not obliged to be his enemies.

* Robeſpierre did not appear to take any *active* part in the maſſacres of the 10th of Auguſt.

Robeſpierre, as an inventor, has great merit; he firſt thought of fixing a price, called the maximum, upon all articles uſeful in common life, that the poor might have them at a cheap price.

A philoſopher had invented the guillotine out of mere humanity, and a philoſophical aſſembly had decreed that it ſhould be the inſtrument of national juſtice; but Robeſpierre invented wheels to this machine, that the villages and country might partake of the bleſſing; he attached to it ambulant commiſſaries and judges, who might adminiſter juſtice with as great promptitude as the ſacred inſtrument inflicted puniſhment.* Thus were liberty and equality extended, and the meaneſt peaſant could now ſee the philoſophical inſtrument of national vengeance and juſtice in his own village.†

* A Frenchman ſaid, that though others had invented the revolution, Robeſpierre ſet it to regular muſic.

† Some ariſtocrats think, that Henry IV. whoſe ambition was to ſee every peaſant in France have a pullet in his pot on Sunday, was a better ſort of ambition; but ſuch are greatly miſtaken, for there is no diſputing about taſtes. In the barbarous days of the gallant Henry, the French cried, *Vive le roi et la bonne chere*; in the days of Robeſpierre they cried out, *Vive la guillotine, vive la mort.* So each pleaſed the nation in the way that ſuited its taſte at the time.

Had

Had not riches been long conſidered as a crime againſt liberty and equality? and did not Robeſpierre aboliſh the bank, ſhut up the Change, ſequeſtrate the India Company's magazines, and make it the crime of death for any citizen to be poſſeſſed of gold or ſilver? and did he not encourage the ſervant to denounce his maſter, and the ſon his father?

Had not the conſtituent aſſembly in the fulneſs of its wiſdom and philoſophy decreed, that the hangman ſhould be an active citizen, and be upon a par with the firſt prince of the blood; that the king and the heir apparent alone ſhould be ſuperior to him? and did not the place of hangman become lucrative and honourable in the time of Robeſpierre's power? Have not virtuous candidates for that office been ſeen canvaſſing for votes, as we do at an election for a county member in England? And might not this be ſaid to be the maximum of philoſophy, and the minimum of prejudice? Was it not a fair triumph of the new principles over the old ridiculous notions? and is there any thing ſo brilliant or ſo great in the reign of the Emperor Auguſtus, ſo boaſted and ſo admired? What are fine arts and ſtately palaces compared to the perfection of the human mind when it gets rid of human prejudice?

Did not the ariſtocracy of rich merchants in great cities offend the lovers of perfect equality? and did not Robeſpierre make war on all the rich merchants and great towns of France? Did not Lyons, the populous, the wealthy, and the induſtrious, ſee its proud buildings levelled with the ground; and its inhabitants, who oppoſed themſelves to the ſyſtem of equality and the deſtruction of property, put to flight, or to death, by thouſands at a time? Did not the richeſt inhabitants of Bourdeaux, of Nantes, of Marſeilles, and of Straſburg, depoſe their wealth upon the altar of the country in preſence of the guillotine? and did not thoſe who refuſed to part with their property loſe their lives? and were not their widows and their children turned adrift to ſeek for food and raiment where they could find it? After this, who can complain of the revolutionary conduct of Robeſpierre, and of his love for equality? and who can accuſe the man who had the courage to put in practice what the others had only the courage to contrive?

But the merits of this great man exceed all that can be ſaid of him; did he not only invent the revolutionary government, that is to ſay, contrived the means of giving permanency to the revolutionary meaſures on the 10th of Auguſt, and the maſſacres of September? Did not he organiſe the revolutionary tribunal, which conducted on an

average

average thirty people a day to the guillotine in Paris, and over all France many more? Did not he gratify the Pariſian taſte, which was changed from that of plays and operas, to that of ſhedding blood, by affording a public repreſentation *gratis* every day, where blood was ſhed, and where the nation had the double enjoyment of contemplating the ſufferings of the condemned, and reflecting on his forfeited riches, when the ragged ſans culotte, that honourable character, exulted in the double enjoyment of national vengeance, and of being one of the heirs of the condemned victim ?*

Did not Robeſpierre compel, by the ſyſtem of terror, all the youth of the nation, to go and combat the combined deſpots of Europe? and did he not eſtabliſh revolutionary armies, who, when equality and happineſs could not with all its efforts be attained, *realized equality in miſery*, and ſo brought the ſacred reign of equality

* When theſe things are fairly conſidered, all this looks more like a dream than a reality, and yet nothing is more true; Robeſpierre uſed to ſay, when he was told he was too ſevere upon the rich with the guillotine, Let me alone, I am coining money. Three ſtrokes of the guillotine were eſtimated upon one occaſion at twenty-two millions by Barrere, in a report to the convention. O France, it will be difficult to wipe away thoſe ſtains. Philoſophy will never more have religion to reproach for the cruelties it has occaſioned!

nearer

nearer to full perfection than it ever had before been.

Was not kingly power diſclaimed by the French nation, and did not Robeſpierre murder the ſovereign, his queen, and his ſiſter, and that merely upon revolutionary principles, and without deigning to conſult what ignorant ſuperſtitious people in former times had conſidered as natural juſtice or eſtabliſhed law? Was not this the laſt triumph of your principles, and the true end of your inſurrections, and yet you have dared to to accuſe him, to reſiſt his will, and to blacken his memory?

If Robeſpierre is fully cleared in the eyes of revolutionary men of all countries, as he ought to be, let us ſee what the ariſtocrats have to ſay againſt him? Ought not they alſo to praiſe the man who has avenged their cauſe upon ſo many of their enemies? Can any lover of order blame the man who purged the world of Danton, Fabre d'Eglantine, and Camille de Moulins,* of Hebert, the atrocious Hebert, of the Duke of Orleans, of Briſſot, Chabot, Merlin, and Bazire; who diſperſed the ſanguinary miniſters, Roland, Le Brun, Claviere, and Servan; who condemned

* Theſe two were Danton's ſecretaries during the maſſacres of September; they were afterwards members of the convention.

Petion

Petion and his companion Manuel, Clootz the Pruſſian, and whole ſquadrons of murdering philoſophers? During the reign of Robeſpierre, did not Barnave fall, and would not every one of the firſt inſtigators to murder and pillage have fallen? and did not Robeſpierre, like Samſon, terrible in his death as he had been in his life, drag one hundred and forty-ſeven of the moſt culpable citizens of Paris with him, after having done what was of ſtill greater importance, carried revolutionary principles as far as they could go, and thereby changed the minds of men with reſpect to their wiſdom and juſtice? Did not Robeſpierre ſhew all reaſonable men, that liberty and equality, on the French plan, was a mere chimera, a philoſophical dream, and thereby prepare the way for returning reaſon and peace?*

Such are the obligations which the ariſtocrats owe to Robeſpierre for what he did; but when it

* The ſervices rendered by Robeſpierre to the cauſe of order, are far from being imaginary, he, in fact, ſhewed the revolutionary ſyſtem in its full horror, and diſguſted Jacobins with Jacobiniſm; ſo that two things only now maintain the revolution, the firſt is the difficulty of eſtabliſhing order, under a republican form, and the deſire of keeping the lands of the emigrants, which, were kingly government to be reſtored, would, they apprehend, be impoſſible. Certain it is, that all France confeſſes they have been ſadly oppreſſed, and that a great portion, at leaſt of the country, is completely cured of *la maladie de* 1789.

is

is conſidered what he intended to have done; when it is conſidered that he had proſcribed Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, and Talien, (the Adonis Talien, who was ſo active at the maſſacres of September) and all the remainder of the bloody tribe, and that he meant to have reigned alone, and have purged the world of all monſters but himſelf; muſt you not allow, that for what he did, what he was the cauſe of being done, and what he intended to do, Maximilian Robeſpierre deſerves your thanks?*

The whole world ſhould join in gratitude to Robeſpierre for his conduct during the laſt month of his life; when he found the moment was arrived when it was neceſſary to overturn the convention, and to fix deſpotiſm on a terrible and ſolid baſis, he abandoned his poſt in the convention, in the committees, and applied to the JACOBIN CLUB; it was from that, and that alone, that he expected an energetic and effectual ſupport; he has therefore eſtabliſhed beyond diſpute, what, indeed, the whole of the revolution has confirmed, *that a political club, with affiliations and correſpondences, and that claims the right of interfering in affairs of government, is the greateſt enemy of the real*

* During the reign of Robeſpierre, there were full as many revolutioniſts guillotined as there were loyaliſts, and it was the choſen revolutioniſts who excelled the others that he perſecuted the moſt. They were friends in principles, but rivals in perſons.

free-

freedom. He has ſhewn the ruin and miſery in its full extent, to which men are reduced by encouraging revolt; to add to his other ſervices, he has drawn down along with him the ruin of the Jacobin club.

We have already ſaid, that the hiſtory of the Jacobins becomes leſs intereſting as the revolution advanced. We are now come to that period where, as all men muſt be nearly of one opinion about the infamy of their manœuvres, their minute examination becomes leſs neceſſary. We ſhall, therefore, in a rapid manner, follow them through the laſt ſtage of exceſs and crime, which will ſerve fully to ſhew, that if inſurrection is a ſacred duty, it is alſo one that is attended with very ſerious conſequences.

The repulſe of the Pruſſian army gave the convention and the nation a little time to breathe, and this time was occupied by the convention in making a decree to excite the ſubjects of all nations to revolt, in conſidering the plans laid down by Briſſot, Condorcet, and Clootz, for univerſal conqueſt and an univerſal republic, and for bringing to the ſcaffold the impriſoned monarch.* Au-

* The cruelty of the nation in ſhedding the blood of the king, had not the excuſe alledged for the cruelties of Auguſt and September, that of the fear of their enemies and the approach of

Audacity had now ſucceeded to fear, and all nations were openly put at defiance.* It is more than probable, that the vanity of ſhewing all Europe how little its menaces were regarded, cauſed the convention, without viſible motives, without any juſt reaſon, and even contrary to its apparent intereſt, to determine on the trial of one of the moſt innocent, moſt virtuous, and moſt unfortunate of kings. Such as know the audacious vanity of the Pariſian Jacobins, and their ferocity, will not be ſurpriſed at this. Time may, perhaps, unveil

of the Pruſſian army; on the contrary, during the trial of the king, the French armies were victorious, and had over-run Flanders and Brabant with an almoſt unexampled degree of ſucceſs. This is a proof, that if the French nation is cruel when in fear, it is no leſs ſo when victorious; and this is the beſt anſwer that can be given to thoſe perſons, who affect to throw the blame of the cruel government of France upon the fear excited by combined powers.

* It was juſt at the ſame moment that all this was happening, that the Engliſh friends of French liberty ſent over two ambaſſadors to preſent the convention with a congratulatory addreſs, and their ſoldiers with 2000 pairs of ſhoes. It was at this time, that Meſſ. Paine and Prieſtley were choſen members of the convention, and never was the ſyſtem of univerſal fraternity conceived by M. Clootz, or the deſtruction of kingly government preached up by the different ſocieties, ſo likely to be carried into effect: the maſſacres of September had only whetted the appetite of thoſe gentlemen, they had ſmelt the blood acroſs the channel, and, as the poet Klopſtock ſaid, they longed to approach their victims, that they might with a dry eye contemplate the laſt convulſion, and indulge their ears with the laſt groan.

ſome

ſome other cauſe for the cruel deed, but until there is a certainty of the exiſtence of ſuch a cauſe, it is fair to aſſign that which is the moſt probable.

There is no doubt but that the republic might be conſidered by the convention as being more certain when the king ſhould no longer exiſt; but this is contradicted by the votes of a great number of determined republicans, who did not vote for death, but impriſonment or baniſhment.*

Another reaſon for thinking ſo, is, that the convention, eager to decree liberty and equality, and to eſtabliſh licence, has ſhewn no ſort of impatience to eſtabliſh any ſort of law or government, and therefore the death of the king was not a meaſure of ſo preſſing a nature as to require haſte. It muſt either have been meant to gratify vanity, as we have ſaid, to defy the powers of

* The Gironde party was compoſed of the real republicans, the Mountain was compoſed of anarchiſts, and men who only wanting blood and pillage, had not any fixed notions about government at all; it was the Mountain that voted for the puniſhment of death; thoſe of the other parties, leſs ſanguinary, but likewiſe leſs bold, were induced to vote by the calculations about their own perſonal ſafety. The Mountain was with government as it was with religion, it wiſhed to overturn that which exiſted, without any fixed plan for eſtabliſhing another in its place.

Europe,

Europe, or to render the whole nation unanimous in defending the republic.

It would be to ſuppoſe, that men have two different opinions on this ſubject, which is not the caſe, to enter into any arguments relative to the cruelty and injuſtice of the ſentence. The whole human race, though not by the organ of the repreſentative citizen Clootz, has teſtified its deteſtation of the convention, and its admiration of the calm firmneſs and moderate virtue of the king.

The reign of Robeſpierre ſeems to have diſplayed the ultimatum of human depravity and folly under a republican form, and to have exalted royalty, by diſplaying in a dethroned king an unexampled degree of human moderation and virtue. Humanity has ſuffered much, but poſterity may gain a great deal. France has been a melancholy example, and it is to be hoped, that all mankind will profit by it, to the excluſion of thoſe principles which only tend to make men criminal and miſerable.

" If plagues and earthquakes break not Heaven's deſign,
" Why then a Borgia or a Cataline?

The progreſs of mind in individuals, and in mankind at large, is the ſame; and it was natural,

ral, that as knowledge increaſed men ſhould arrive at that dangerous point where experience is abandoned and deſpiſed, and where they give themſelves up to theory. This happens to moſt young men who have got a liberal education, when firſt they throw off the trammels of the college or the ſchool; but time and experience, (and often adverſity) bring them back to reaſon. France had attained this point of knowledge; and perhaps the violence of the malady, by ſhortening its duration, will in the end be a bleſſing to mankind. The impetuoſity of the French will ſerve equally as a means of exhauſting themſelves, and of diſcouraging their cotemporaries or poſterity from ever abandoning themſelves entirely to theory.

It was during the latter months of 1792 that the efforts of the revolutionary emiſſaries were the moſt ſtrenuous in London, and in the other great cities of England. Government had been ſo completely overturned in France, and the poſſeſſion of power and property had been ſo completely attained by the revolutionary banditti, that their courage and audacity were beyond all bounds. Every country * contains men who wiſh for

* In proportion as the general run of the inhabitants of a country are dabblers in learning and metaphyſics, the Jacobin principles have been admired—in Scotland more than in England, at Berlin more than at Vienna. It was long the wiſh of the

for changes, and who expect to gain by revolutions; ſuch naturally united their efforts to the French

Jacobins to perſuade the people, that men of learning and genius admired the revolution. The famous Abbé Raynal was ſaid to be an ardent admirer of it, and a curious enough ſcene took place in conſequence of this. Raynal arrived in Paris by accident in the year 1791, and ſent a letter to the aſſembly; the preſident of which, either through negligence, or with a deſign to play the aſſembly a trick, announced the letter without having previouſly examined it. The conſtituent philoſophers, expecting congratulations on their wiſdom, called out with one voice to have it read. The preſident begun, but what were the mortification and ſurpriſe of the lawgivers, when they found it contained one of the moſt bitter and well-founded criticiſms on their conduct that ever was written. A great diſturbance took place; the preſident was interrupted and abuſed;* he was accuſed of ariſtocracy and knavery. A long debate enſued, but the inſult being public already, it was determined to hear the letter out, and to treat the writer as a dotard who had loſt his ſenſes. The letter itſelf was a proof that the old philoſopher had neither loſt that juſtneſs of idea nor elegance of expreſſion for which he has been ſo deſervedly famous; but Gorſas, and all the ſcribblers of the Jacobin ſociety, ſet upon him, and endeavoured to prove, that he was not only a fool but even a thief, and every thing that was bad. Raynal, not truſting much to their humanity, wiſely ſet off next morning, concealing the route which he took.

Amongſt the patents of French citizenſhip, ſuch as were ſent to Dr. Prieſtley, Thomas Paine, Mr. Wilberforce, and ſome others, the aſſembly ſent one to the German poet Klopſtock, famous for his philanthropy. His anſwer is thus:

THE

* It was a ſecretary, in fact, that was reading.

French emiſſaries through inclination; but the French emiſſaries had money at command; and it

THE POET KLOPSTOCK TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF FRANCE.

" Moderators of the French empire!

" I ſend back to you with horror thoſe titles of which I was " ſo proud, while I could think that they united me to a ſociety " of brothers and friends to humanity. Alas! the deception " is but too ſoon vaniſhed away, and moſt afflicting reality is " come, to put an end to a deluſive dream. Alas! I had vainly " imagined, that from the diſtant borders of the Seine that " light ſhould come, which would one day give an eclat to " the happy reign of liberty amongſt European nations.

" Why have you deceived me? *Your rights of man were* " *only a ſnare laid to make Frenchmen fall, that they might* " *be the more eaſily aſſaſſinated.* Learn, then, that the exceſs " of your barbariſm and of your crimes has placed an eternal " barrier between you and the poets of happy Germany. " When they are told thoſe tragical adventures which diſgrace " your ſanguinary hiſtory, they are affrighted and fly away. " There is no connection now between us, you have broken " for ever the laſt of the bands which connected us together.

" I pity thoſe who call themſelves citizens, and who ſhed " torrents of the blood of citizens. O crime! when they have " ſhed blood they dance around their victim; they contemplate " with a dry eye the laſt convulſion; they approach nearer to " indulge their ears with the laſt groan.

" Frenchmen, I turn away with affright from that impious " troop which is guilty of aſſaſſination, by looking on the " peaceable witneſſes of murder. I fly far off from the cries " of that execrable tribunal which murders, not only the " victim, but which murders alſo the *mercy* of the people "

it is as certain as any thing that has not actually taken place can be, that a revolution was on the point of breaking out in England. The French *organization* was begun, men had their different poſts aſſigned to them, and the ſignal only was wanting to make rebellion break forth.

Happily for England, the miniſters were not in the ſame lethargy that thoſe of Louis XVI. had been in the year 1789. We ſhould have ſoon found plenty of leaders ſtart up, but there was no friend in the king's cabinet. The chancellor of the exchequer was not a vain, diſguſted foreigner like M. Necker, and we were ſaved. The malcontents in this country had one circumſtance in their favour, which thoſe in France had not when they begun; they had a powerful nation to ſupport them with men and with money, and who knew the method of employing agents, who were eternally repeating their favourite maxim of *ce n'eſt que le premier pas que coute*, and they expected to overturn the throne of England as eaſily as they had taken the Baſtile.

Such is the energetic letter of the old and virtuous Klopſtock; he had not attained the pitch of Condorcet and his companions, and they very probably conſidered him as a fool and a dotard. This is not quite ſo conſoling as the addreſs of the Engliſh deputies with the 2000 pair of ſhoes.

It is true, that all this has been treated as a fiction by thoſe who felt mortified at its want of ſucceſs; but how could we expect them to treat it otherwiſe, when we ſee their maſters at Paris treat as a fiction what had happened in the next ſtreet, and maintain as a truth what had never happened at all?

There were at this time only two methods left for England to purſue, the one was to act as ſhe has done, and the other to let French emiſſaries and French aſſignats rob us of every thing. The queſtion of the juſtice and neceſſity of the war has been often diſcuſſed; it is ſufficient, however, to obſerve, that as the Jacobin principle decidedly is, that "thoſe that are not for us are againſt "us," there was no medium, (as thoſe who are enemies of the war pretend) as they plainly ſhewed by the example of Spain, which offered them peace; but as ſhe did not propoſe fraternity, by eſtabliſhing Jacobin clubs and revolutionary tribunals, war was proclaimed againſt her without any ſort of ceremony.

Amongſt the daring attempts of the revolutioniſts to attack the peace of other nations, one of the moſt blameable was the ſending an army againſt the republic of Geneva, and we have only our own numbers and the Britiſh channel to

thank for our not having been treated in the ſame manner.

It is a very ſingular thing, that men who paſs over all theſe circumſtances with as great ſilence as if they had never happened, have the effrontery to conſider France as a perſecuted and attacked nation. Do they think, that they are ſitting at the mayor's houſe in Paris, and writing to all the municipalities of France, to tell them, that the palace of the Thuilleries had laid a plan to murder all the patriots in the kingdom? or, what do they think? Is it poſſible to believe that France, which in an open or in an underhand meaſure was attacking the government of every nation in Europe, and endeavouring to introduce the Septemberizing ſyſtem and the revolutionary government, where peace and order had hitherto reigned, could itſelf expect to meet with no reſiſtance? No, it is impoſſible: and to be convinced that it did not, we have but to read what Briſſot ſays on that ſubject, in his publication in the month of May following. Briſſot was one of the great diplomatic conductors at the time of which we are now ſpeaking, and his teſtimony may be taken; he knew the truth and he had no motive for concealing it; at leaſt could have none for writing as he did.

Briſſot

Briſſot was accuſed of being one of the cauſes of the war with England; and he did not refute the charge; far leſs did he pretend to ſay, that England had declared war upon France without provocation. He has been on many occaſions ſufficiently laviſh of his abuſe both of England and of Engliſh miniſters. It is, therefore, ſomething ſingular, that we find amongſt ourſelves people who will affirm what this daring leader of the party never ventured to do, or, which he thought it would be unneceſſary to attempt doing.

In proportion as the victorious French army advanced in Auſtrian Flanders and Brabant, Jacobin clubs were* eſtabliſhed; the generals and French commiſſaries were the patrons, and the preſidents and the ſoldiers mixed with the members. The armies were accompanied by Jacobin orators, and followed by printing preſſes. The proprietors of Belgium were robbed by the introduction of French aſſignats; but they were terrified and remained ſilent, becauſe thoſe who had nothing, the virtuous ſans culottes, were advo-

* The King of Pruſſia's army having been once repulſed, there was no ſingle body of troops capable of making any reſiſtance, which is a proof that the Emperor, ſo far from having exceeded the number of troops which by treaty he was intitled to have upon that frontier, had not availed himſelf of his rights in this reſpect. This motive alledged for the war declared againſt him, therefore, falls to the ground.

cates of the French ſyſtem, becauſe they were determined to eſtabliſh clubs and principles of equality.*

To the revolution of the 10th of Auguſt, the maſſacres of September, and the ſucceſſes of the French arms in repulſing the Auſtrians and Pruſſians, ſucceeded a few months of leſs active operation.

The winter months were employed in endeavouring to amaſs all the gold and ſilver in the kingdom in the treaſury of the convention; in organizing the ſale of the lands of emigrants, to inſure the value of aſſignats, and in bringing to the ſcaffold the unfortunate king.

As long as the world remains, or, at leaſt, ſo long as men read the hiſtory of what has happened, the convention will be ſeverely reproached for the injuſtice, the inhumanity, and the impo-

* Briſſot, who was one of the French leaders at the time, and for ſeveral months after, tells us that aſſignats were advanced at par there, (they were 50 per cent. below par at Paris) that the Belgians conſidered it but as a double robbery, but that the convention diſtributed large ſums amongſt the vagabonds of Bruſſels to make them drunk, and to buy proſelytes; and that the dregs of the people, flattered with the hopes of equality with their ſuperiors, and aſſembled in clubs, reduced them to ſilence, to inactivity.

licy,

licy, of putting to death their king. None of the charges that, for the ſake of form, were brought againſt him, had any foundation either in law or in fact. The king had acted as he had a right to do previous to the acceptation of the conſtitution; and, after that, he was the only man in the kingdom who had remained faithful to it.* Thoſe

* It was not only a circumſtance fit to inſpire us with admiration of the French king, but it is a phenomenon which muſt excite aſtoniſhment, that, amongſt a vaſt numbers of his ſervants, ſome of his former friends, and thouſands of people who had acceſs to know his conduct from his earlieſt youth, none could produce any one arbitrary act or accuſation againſt him. We did not ſpeak of the Red Book, as it was called, that is, the liſt of penſions given by the court, at the time that affair was diſcuſſed by the conſtituent aſſembly, becauſe it had turned out not to contain half the waſte of public money that had been aſſerted and apprehended by the enemies of the court. Louis XVI. was, in fact, a rigid economiſt in principle, and it would appear that the waſte of public money was never made with his conſent, but that the ſame goodneſs which made him wiſh to ſpare his people had led him into the unwarrantable and ruinous habitude of paying the debts of the princes, and of ſome other perſons about court. We ſay unwarrantable, becauſe it is worſe in its ultimate conſequences than granting penſions upon the ſtate; but, at the ſame time, the feeling under which it is done, exculpates the doer with reſpect to his intentions. What would have been refuſed to ſupport extravagance, is granted to pay needy creditors, and relieve from thraldom an extravagant, but often an amiable debtor; and thus a new letter of credit is given to that ſame extravagance of which it ſeldom fails to make uſe. Had the other princes of the Houſe of Bourbon been guided by the ſame principles with their illuſtrious chief, he would not have loſt his life in a revolution which their great expenſes had accelerated.

who

who tried Louis for treaſon were themſelves traitors; they had betrayed the nation: they accuſed him of tyranny and deſpotiſm, when they and their co-adjutors alone were the tyrants and deſpots of the nation: they accuſed him of ſhedding innocent blood, when in one half-hour they immolated to their own ambition and revenge more victims, than there had fallen criminals under the ſeverity of the law, during the whole reign of the king.

The hard treatment of the king, during his confinement, as well as the mock trial by which he was brought to the ſcaffold, are well known. On that head there is but one opinion in all Europe, and amongſt all ranks of people; but it is not ſo well known by what methods his enemies contrived to lull all France, and particularly the inhabitants of Paris, into a ſort of ſleep, till it was too late to prevent the execution of this ſanguinary project.

The ruling party in the aſſembly, in the club, and at the Hotel de Ville, had one thing ſtill to fear. The great majority of France, it was known, was not only againſt any violence being done to the king, but diſapproved in reality of the 10th of Auguſt, and all that had been done ſince then. The aſſaſſination of the king might, therefore, ſerve as a ſignal for the majority to break

break forth, and, by uniting in one ſingle point, cruſh their adverſaries.

To prevent ſo dangerous a point of re-union, the aſſembly diſcuſſed the queſtion in a way that made the generality of people believe that impriſonment, or baniſhment, would be the utmoſt extent of their vengeance. The king was long ſince a priſoner, and the formality of a mock trial, and condemnation to continue a priſoner, did not appear to be any great ſubject for alarm; as for baniſhment, it appeared to all as a ſentence to be wiſhed for. The trial of the king was ſo conducted, as, by holding up theſe two ſorts of puniſhment, the ſentence of death was not much feared until the trial approached very near its end; and then the precipitate execution prevented the poſſibility of any effort on the part of the departments of France.

The people of Paris were next to be lulled aſleep: the Jacobin method is always to do this by giving hopes, and letting it be underſtood by their emiſſaries, that more is to be feared from oppoſing them, than from letting them act quietly.*

It

* Orders were given in Paris on the day of execution, which followed immediately that of the condemnation, to fire upon the carriage where the king was, upon the leaſt appearance of any

It would be paying the cowardly people of Paris a compliment they do not deſerve, to ſay that they might probably have reſcued their king, if they had been certain that his death was decided upon; but, though thoſe who were determined on bringing him to the block could not have any great reaſon to apprehend reſiſtance from a city which had been perfectly paſſive in the arreſts of Auguſt and maſſacres of September, and which was daily ſubmitting to unheard-of oppreſſion; yet Petion, and the conductors of this tranſaction, wiſhed once more to make aſſurance doubly ſure; and it was artfully circulated in Paris that the king was only meant to be carried to the place of puniſhment for the ſake of form, and in order to impreſs kings in general with a proper awe for the ſovereignty of the people of France. This was circulated, and, by obtaining credit, prevented any attempt from being made towards a reſcue, if any ſuch thing was intended.* The cruel and ferocious conductors

movement amongſt the people in his favour; it was, therefore, impoſſible at that ſtage of this melancholy buſineſs for any of his friends to ſhew themſelves, even if they had been inclined. There are many people who boaſt that they intended to make an effort; but on that ſide of the queſtion there has been ſo much boaſting, and ſo little acting, that it is difficult to give any credit to theſe gentlemen.

* So much were many people convinced that the king would not be executed, that many wagers were laid on the place where

ductors of this affair had given orders publicly, that on the leaſt attempt in favour of fallen majeſty, the king ſhould inſtantly be ſacrificed; ſo that, under the abſolute certainty on one hand of the order given for this purpoſe, and the hope inſpired of pardon on the other, the people of Paris, who looked calmly on, were not ſo much to be blamed as they have been on many other occaſions. But the cenſure, from which the refinement of Jacobin cunning reſcues them on this occaſion, will not wipe away the eternal ſtain of cowardice which their tame ſubmiſſion to his murderers after the deed, has brought upon them.

The Jacobins,* always decided in their own plans, are remarkable for the addreſs with which

it was done, that, on the moment of his preparation for the laſt puniſhment, his pardon would be demanded and proclaimed. It was, indeed, very ſilly in any one to believe ſuch a report, but that does not alter the fact, it was believed. It is well known that the quickneſs of that mode of execution is ſo great, that, if the error was perceived even before it took place, it would have been ſo very ſmall an interval between that diſcovery and the execution, that there could be no poſſibility of effecting a reſcue.

* The method of dividing the nobility from the clergy, the high clergy from the low clergy, and the bankers and rich merchants from both, is a maſter-piece of cunning, and was admirably well executed. The intention was in the end to treat them all in the ſame way, for war was meant againſt all property,

which they prevent their enemies from uniting in one opinion and in one will, and, therefore, in one determined effort; knowing where their own ſtrength lays, they exert their utmoſt ſkill to deprive their opponents of the ſame advantage. We ſhall ſee that, with regard to the coaleſced powers, they have acted in the ſame manner; and that the coaleſced powers have let themſelves be duped upon various occaſions by the ſame artifices that have perpetually enſlaved the majority in France to a minority of turbulent republicans.

It has been aſſerted by many, and believed by ſome, that an attempt was made to perſuade the king himſelf that he ſhould *not* be put to death.* The

perty, not againſt any one kind of property in particular. Nevertheleſs the proprietors and rich people fell into the ſnare. Previous to their invaſion of foreign territories, the French propoſed to declare war againſt caſtles, but protection for cottages, and this on purpoſe to ſeparate the two claſſes of inhabitants, that they might equally oppreſs both. It has only been the experience of their real intention that undeceived their neighbours with regard to the pretended one.

* It has been the conſtant cuſtom of the Jacobin party that ruled, to give hopes of pardon to their victims during the trial, and ſo prevent them from ſpeaking out things that might not be convenient to hear. When judgment is once paſſed, the promptitude of the execution is great; beſides, it is a rule with theſe republicans not to pollute their ears with hearing what a condemned criminal has to ſay. Where juſtice is the object, people,

The thing is probable enough; but, that he never liſtened to ſuch a deluſive hope one moment, is certain; for the firmneſs of his behaviour, his calmneſs and reſignation, prove beyond reply that his mind was divided or acted upon by no oppoſite paſſions.

The death of the unfortunate Louis put the ſeal to the maſſacre of the priſoners and the prieſts; and ſhewed in the moſt plain and decided manner, that the ruling party in France had determined to ſtop at nothing ſhort of the total deſtruction of all thoſe who ſtood in the way of what they call liberty and equality. This bloody deed was throwing down the gauntlet to all the governments of Europe, and to all good men; it was a plain declaration that juſtice was laid aſide, and that the deſtruction of government and of order was fully determined upon. The people of France had been at great pains, as we have ſeen, to lead all the nations of Europe into the errors of which they themſelves boaſted, but of which they were aſhamed, and for the ultimate conſequences of which they trembled; but, by this one action, they deſtroyed a great part of

ple are eager to hear what the condemned man has to ſay before he is launched into eternity; but tyrants ſtop their mouths; and in this reſpect, as well as in many others, the rulers of France have acted like other tyrants.

their

their own work. Employed during ſeveral years in deceiving Europe by filling their ears with falſities, they, by one ſingle action, opened the eyes of all who were not blinded by their own paſſions and intereſt.

The juſtice of this action was out of the queſtion, it was impoſſible to deceive people by calling Louis a traitor and a tyrant.* It was impoſſible to ſhew, that there were any grounds for his condemnation; it was impoſſible to prevent the whole world from perceiving the contraſt between the virtuous reſignation of an innocent victim, and the ferocious vengeance of his accuſers and murderers. This one action ſhewed, that kings could be virtuous and republicans unjuſt, and it was impoſſible to lay the crime upon the effervescence, the hurry of the moment, or the miſtake of patriots; it was therefore neceſſary plainly and fairly to avow it as their voluntary act, and

* Even the party of Girondiſts treat the king as a tyrant, although they throw his murder upon the party of Robeſpierre. The former party accuſes the latter of diſtributing more thouſands of lettres de cachet than were diſtributed in the old times by all the inquiſitors, and yet they call Louis the laſt of tyrants, and as ſuch aided to dethrone and impriſon him. All theſe factions are to be conſidered only as oppoſite to each other in intereſt; but by no means differing fundamentally in principle.

as ſuch, to give all Europe the meaſure of their iniquity.*

Ever ſince the revolution took a violent turn, the number of its admirers in other nations had been diminiſhing. All men, to the honour of the human race let it be recorded, wiſhed the French ſucceſs whilſt they imagined that liberty was the real object of the revolution. They blamed, indeed, the exceſſes of the populace, and trembled for the precipitate career of the aſſembly; but they ſearched for excuſes as long as they could find any, either in accident or in their ignorance of the affair of reformation which they had ſet about. The general approbation diminiſhed when it was perceived, that the people continued to be cruel and their repreſentatives unjuſt; but ſtill thoſe who were already free, in other countries,

* All the crimes of the revolution have been ſo banded about from one party to another, and ſo palliated, and changed from their real nature by the propagation of falſities, that they have never been ſeen in their full horror. The crimes of Caligula, Nero, Charles IX. and other deſpotic princes, cannot be explained away as the crimes of a people may, at leaſt it would ſeem ſo, by the French revolution. It would be well, however, to conſider, that what with the agents, the vindicators, and the ſpectators, few eſcape the accuſation of guilt; and if we take the old maxim for our guide, that he who ſhares the ſpoils with the thief is himſelf a thief, we ſhall find, that the whole of the French nation is nearly in the ſame predicament as to criminality or cowardice.

or who wiſhed to be ſo, were inclined to palliate what they could not excuſe, and to attribute to a miſtaken enthuſiaſm what aroſe from particular paſſions. Even the 10th of Auguſt inſpired leſs horror than might have been expected, becauſe neceſſity, or a ſuppoſed neceſſity of the meaſure, appeared to have acted upon the minds of the people. The meaſures of September uncauſed by fear, and unwarranted by neceſſity, found yet ſome * excuſe in the irregular manner in which they were perpetrated; but this laſt act ſtood in all its atrocity; it was unprovoked murder, premeditated and avowed, and, of conſequence, mankind had but one opinion on the ſubject.

* Theſe maſſacres were thrown, as we have ſeen, all upon one party, but unluckily for the other party, Manuel and Petion were the conductors of the common council when the maſſacres took place; and though Danton and ſome of their aſſociates joined Robeſpierre and Marat, and began to denounce Briſſot and his Gaſcons, yet it will be impoſſible for any one to make a diſtinction between their degrees of criminality. Briſſot long after that ſaid, *that France was arrived at the laſt bounds of liberty and equality, trampling all human ſuperſtition under foot*, and yet he exclaims againſt the murders of September. He had aſked, with anxious expectation, whether his antagoniſt Demorande, was not aſſaſſinated, and yet he exclaims againſt theſe murders! We muſt again repeat it, that there is no diſtinction to be made with reſpect to the principles of thoſe men.

It

It was ſoon after this that war broke out between England and France, and it is extraordinary, concerning ſo recent an event, how numbers of people have been miſled.

The conduct of Britain towards France had been of the moſt generous ſort. The troubles of that country offered an occaſion, and held out, indeed, a temptation to the Engliſh miniſtry to be revenged of that nation for the American war; for the troubles which had broke out in Ireland at the end of that war, and which were encouraged by the French;* for the attempt made to change the

* It is well known in this country, that in 1782, when there were diſturbances in Ireland, France interfered by emiſſaries, who ſwarmed in Dublin. The ſupport intended, and promiſed to the enemies of the ſtadtholder in Holland, is equally well known; and it was the general theme in France, at the time when Tippoo Saib ſent ambaſſadors there, that we ſhould ſoon loſe our poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies. The French nation then, (and that was in 1788,) was delighted with this idea, ſo that the patriots of England muſt not count any more upon the affection of the people of France towards this country, than they did upon the good-will of the court. With reſpect to this nation all parties had the ſame views, and what is more, always will have; it was, therefore, certainly great generoſity in England not to take advantage of the firſt diſorders of France, which, if it had been inclined to do, Lord Gower would not, probably, have been ſent to re-place the Duke of Dorſet as ambaſſador, becauſe the former nobleman was in no degree poſſeſſed of the intrigue neceſſary; it is even to be queſtioned, if he

the government of Holland by chacing away the ſtadtholder; and, laſt of all, for the attack projected upon our ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies in conjunction with Tippoo Saib. The ruin of England ſeemed to have been the view of the French court, and the wiſh of the whole nation, yet England ſaw the whole of the French army diſbanded by mutiny, and all the officers of the navy chaced away, without making any effort to turn it to advantage. If miniſters acted thus, the Engliſh nation acted ſtill more generouſly as individuals; all men wiſhed them ſucceſs, and thoſe who were enemies to the revolution do not ſeem to have been ſo from being enemies either of the French or of freedom, but, on the contrary, becauſe they ſaw that they were not taking the road either to be happy or free, and that the revolution was conducted by men either unwilling or incapable of eſtabliſhing a free and firm government.

The war is one of thoſe events of which the direct cauſe is a matter of doubt with many, be-

was well choſen for giving that information which ſo important a moment required. The ſecond year of the revolution was that in which England might have been expected to act if ſhe wiſhed to do France any harm; but no traces of ſuch a project are to be found, although all the French, both democrats at home and many emigrant ariſtocrats, ſay, that Mr. Pitt excited troubles in the interior of France—Accuſation without proof or probability requires no refutation.

cauſe

cauſe it is violently conteſted by a few. An opinion has gone abroad in England, that though we did not declare war, the haughty conduct of miniſters towards the emiſſary Chauvelin, formerly ambaſſador, occaſioned the declaration on the part of the French.

This matter, however, does not admit of much diſpute, if we will examine it without any regard to the feelings of either of the two parties in this country, who differ with regard to its juſtice and neceſſity.

Inſtead of always calling it juſt and neceſſary, we ſhould do better in ſaying, that it was inevitable, for ſuch is the fact. There was no avoiding war, unleſs we meant to curb ourſelves beneath the yoke of the proud republicans, and ſee the crown of England fall before the red bonnet of France. If we can eſtabliſh this, there will, perhaps, be little doubt of the truth of the aſſertion, that war was inevitable; for ſuch a humiliating and miſerable alternative cannot be conſidered by Engliſhmen as being any alternative at all.

The French divided into two diſtinct parties, after the murder of their king and the war with England, and thoſe two parties reproached one another mutually with having excited the war.

Briſſot's party* was condemned after having been accuſed of bringing about the war with England, and after having retorted that accuſation with vehemence and probability of truth. Both parties agree, then, in two things, that the war with England was a misfortune, and that one or other of them had been the occaſion of bringing it on; this does not look as if it could have been thrown upon England.

* Briſſot's party is ſtill conſidered in France as having been the cauſe of the war; and it is certain, that Briſſot, Kerſaint, and Condorcet, were the great projectors of conqueſts. It was that party that endangered Europe the moſt, yet from all that it does not abſolutely follow, that the other party did not contribute full as much, or more, to the declaration of hoſtilities. It is certain, that the party of Robeſpierre domineered in the convention at the time, and it was the convention that declared war firſt on Spain and then on England; and it ſeems rather to be the faireſt to ſuppoſe, that Robeſpierre and his friends were moſt active in declaring war, but that it was done in a moment of ſucceſs, and when a reverſe came, they wiſhed to throw the blame on their enemies. It is to be obſerved, however, that Briſſot's party managed diplomatic affairs when a general invitation to inſurrection was given to all the nations of Europe. Chauvelin and the Propagande emiſſaries were all originally of that party. Since the war took a better turn for the French, the ſuppoſed inſtigators of it are not inquired after; and if that party had not fallen under twenty-two ſtrokes of Robeſpierre's guillotine, we might, perhaps, have ſeen its leaders *claiming the honour* of bringing on the war with England.

If Chauvelin, who could neither be conſidered as an ambaſſador from the tenor of his conduct, which was unlike one, nor from his credentials, which were expired, was treated in a haughty ſtile, it muſt be recollected, that he began by being very inſolent; that he made no ſecret of his attachment to the revolutionary principles of the Jacobins, and that he left no ſtone unturned to encourage the malcontents of England to put themſelves in a ſtate of inſurrection, and ſolicit the protection offered in the decree of the 19th Nov. to all people who wiſhed to throw off the ſhackles of regular government. Would it have been proper for Engliſh miniſters, acting for a nation where kingly government is eſtabliſhed and cheriſhed, to have ſubmitted to republican inſolence? and would it not have been highly criminal to have permitted the enemies of England to form plots in the middle of the capital, to overturn our government and undermine our proſperity?

Will the enemies of the war pretend to ſay, that Chauvelin did not play the part of a Jacobin emiſſary, that his houſe was not a point of re-union for all ſuch, and that he openly profeſſed ſuch principles; availing himſelf of the inviolability of ambaſſadors, in which quality he had acted, and of that reſpect which yet was ſhewn him on account of the maſter who had ſent him?

This ſame Chauvelin was diſgraced on his return to France, and accuſed of having aided the party that excited the war; it is therefore as clear as it is poſſible to be, that the French attribute to themſelves this war, about the juſtice of which we diſpute ſo much.

But the French may be miſtaken, it may be ſaid, and it is certainly poſſible, though they ſeldom make the miſtake of accuſing themſelves of what others are guilty; however, if it even were ſo, it does not follow that the war could be avoided.

We have already mentioned the manœuvres of Claviere to pump guineas off the Change of England, by means of bills upon Paris, which was in fact circulating aſſignats in England, and neither more nor leſs;* this thing alone would have been ſufficient to warrant miniſters in ſtopping all commerce with France, and forbidding the intercourſe of bills of exchange, which would have been a hoſtile meaſure, though of a negative nature; the treaty of

* Aſſignats had actually begun to circulate in certain quarters, that is to ſay, juſt as much as ever French Louis d'ors did; they did not ſerve to pay a bill at a tavern, but they could be converted into gold at pleaſure. It was at this time that a man appeared upon the Change of London, and offered to deliver bank of England notes at a diſcount, at the end of three months. This was ſpeaking pretty plain, but the enemies of the war forget all this.

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commerce, and all other treaties would have been broke by ſuch a proceeding, which nevertheleſs was rendered quite neceſſary by the mode adopted of paying all bills on France in a ſpecies of money that had no intrinſic value, and which the confuſed ſtate of the country would not permit ſtrangers to convert into any intrinſic value.* Unleſs the Engliſh nation was determined to ſubmit to beggary and bankruptcy, it was neceſſary to ſhut up this ruinous intercourſe, and therefore war was inevitable, for nobody will for a moment ſuppoſe

* The circulation of aſſignats might have been ſtopt in England, without the violation of any treaty; but the circulation of bills upon France could not, becauſe an intercourſe of payments is the neceſſary conſequence of an intercourſe of ſales, ſo that when we were obliged to forbid the one, we were forbidding the other. Quibblers may ſay that individuals will aways take care of their own intereſt, and that the price at which they ſold their goods would be proportioned to the diſcredit of aſſignats; but that will not do, we have ſeen that the French had methods of raiſing and lowering the change at pleaſure, and that it was at the riſk of one's life that money or bullion could be brought out of France, ſo that it would not do to truſt entirely to the individual. Do not all governments make laws for the protection of trade againſt ſwindlers? and yet what are ſwindlers? they do not take the property of the individual by force, nor againſt his will, but by deceiving him with reſpect to his real intereſt. This was juſt preciſely what the national convention and their agents did when they decreed that bills negotiated in London ſhould be paid in Paris in aſſignats, and when they forbid the exchange of aſſignats for ſpecie, or the carrying of ſpecie out of the kingdom. There could not be a more manifeſt impoſition and dupery

that

that the convention would have tamely ſubmitted to ſuch a meaſure.

The Jacobin manœuvres in this country rendered the alien bill, as it is called, neceſſary; this alſo was an infringement on the rights of nations, which could only be vindicated by neceſſity. When individuals violate the laws of hoſpitality, every government is juſtified in acting as its own peace and ſafety requires. It was diſputed at the time by thoſe who oppoſed the war, that the manœuvres in queſtion were of ſuch a nature as not to warrant a bill ſo ſevere in its nature; but it muſt be confeſſed, that this is unſupported by any proof or any probability, for the words and actions of numbers of individuals have plainly ſhewn what their intentions towards this government were.*

* Briſſot accuſes Cambon for not having given the executive miniſters a ſufficient credit upon the national treaſury, to enable them to fill the coffers of France by ſtock-jobbing with foreign gold.—This proves the exiſtence of the plan. He accuſes the other party of not having excited jealouſies in Ireland and Scotland, and fermentation in England; that by neglecting this, thoſe plans were ſtifled which would have enabled France to triumph over her enemies abroad, *and eſtabliſh her liberty every where*. Ireland, whoſe movements towards liberty, ſays he, we were bound to encourage. And yet we have people in England who pretend to doubt about their intentions.

The attack upon Holland was another cauſe for war with France; but though in the ordinary diplomatic line, it may operate as a ſtrong one, we muſt confeſs it deſerves but little to be mentioned, when our commercial wealth, our proſperity, our government, and our peace at home, were concerned.

In pointing out the reaſons for which the war ſeems to have been inevitable, it is by no means to be inferred, that miniſters conducted themſelves in the moſt becoming, or the moſt prudent manner. Perfectly right in the main point, of maintaining Engliſh independence and dignity at all events, it might have been done in a leſs haughty manner, and even with more firmneſs than it was done; the caſe might have been rendered leſs intricate, and the whole nation would then have been of one mind. It is one of the greateſt evils of circuitous negotiations, that the real rights of the caſe are loſt, or at leaſt difficult to be diſcovered; a plain, ſimple declaration of the ſtate of facts would, in this caſe, have been the proper way of treating with a nation which ſeduces ſtrangers by its apparently open mode of acting.

Had England declared to France that ſhe would neither have aſſignats nor emiſſaries, that the one ruined her commerce, and the other her peace, and that of courſe until France paid bills

bills drawn, with money that had a real value, and until ſhe renounced all interference, either by emiſſaries or decrees, in the internal government of England, every ſort of intercourſe muſt ceaſe between the two countries. If it had been added to this, that a treaty with Holland obliged England to interfere in caſe ſhe was attacked, and that England was determined, as a free and an independent people, to preſerve her commerce, her internal peace and government, and to keep her word with her allies.

Such a declaration would either have prevented a war, or have made us more unanimous in ſupporting it than we have been. The meaſures adopted by miniſters were good, but the manner of adopting them was by no means unexceptionable.

In caſes of great importance, people ſhould be clear, diſtinct, and laconic; nothing that is unimportant, foreign to the matter in hand, or merely relative to form and ceremony, ſhould be mixed with what is weighty and important; it enfeebles our friends, and gives room for the chicane of our enemies.

It is not upon all occaſions that ſtateſmen can ſpeak plain, but the habit of not doing ſo ought not to be let grow upon them to ſuch a degree, as

not

not to do it when they may, for certainly it is in ſome caſes a very great advantage, particularly when a miſunderſtanding is likely to produce a waſte of blood and treaſure.

Amongſt the many faults of the Jacobins, and along with all their duplicity, they have the advantage of always appearing to ſpeak plain, and they let ſlip no opportunity of doing ſo *when they can.* It is excellent policy, and their enemies would neither loſe any thing of their dignity nor of their ſucceſs, if they were to adopt the ſame mode. The direct language of the Jacobins has made them underſtand each other, and co-operate over all the countries of Europe, while a few crowned heads have miſtaken each other's intentions on almoſt every occaſion; and by their miſtakes, and the misfortunes which have followed, brought the ſafety of all regular governments into danger.

The evils of war, it is ſaid, are certain, its advantages hypothetical; this is true, when war is made to obtain advantages, but when it is made in ſelf-defence, it is not ſo; and for ſuch a purpoſe was the preſent moſt certainly begun. It is the beginning only that is a matter of inquiry here, the conducting of it is another matter, as is alſo the views which have ariſen during its continuance. If the combined powers have ſhewn a deſire of con-

queſt, France has ſhewn it alſo, and therefore with reſpect to that, there are no reproaches to make on either ſide.

The decree of the French convention had encouraged the fomenters of anarchy here, to ſo great a pitch, that a convention of ſelf-elected deputies met at Edinburgh, and begun to imitate the French convention. Affiliation of clubs was alſo begun, and it is difficult to ſay to what exceſſes they might not have been carried, or ſpurred on by the people, had not the civil power interfered in time, and delivered over ſome of the ringleaders to the law of the land.

As many obſervations have been made with reſpect to the treatment of ſome of the ringleaders, it may be proper, in a few words, to wipe off from the judges and jury thoſe reproaches with which they have unjuſtly been loaded.

As a matter of eſtabliſhed law, and of natural juſtice, the jury and judges deſerve praiſe for what they did, although the ſame puniſhment could not have been inflicted in England for the ſame offence.

With reſpect to the intentions of men who imitated the leaders of the maſſacres of Sept. there could be little doubt, and that doubt it re-

mained in the breaſts of the jury to clear up to themſelves; and as to the law being more ſevere in Scotland than in England, it ariſes from this, that in Scotland, before the Union, treaſon and ſedition were more common than in England, and therefore the law is more explicit on that head; for in every country where any ſpecies of crime is rare, the laws reſpecting its puniſhment are leſs ſevere. An Engliſh jury might have been equally convinced of the bad intention, but the judges could not have been able to paſs the ſame ſentence. As to the neceſſity of rigour againſt ſuch men, the preſent hiſtory is the beſt argument; the men who committed the maſſacres of Sept. and thoſe who had murdered their king, did not commence their career of blood by demanding blood, they commenced it by demanding liberty and bread, and the members of the pretended convention in Scotland gloried in imitating them; the minds of any reaſonable jury could not be in much perplexity in ſo evident a caſe.

In paying the proper attention to puniſhing the agitators of revolution, the judges and jury merit the thanks of all men who love liberty; until ſuch time as the French ſhall give us the example of a nation eſtabliſhing real liberty, freedom, and happineſs, greater than we enjoy in Britain, thoſe who wiſh to hold her up as a model to copy from, are certainly

tainly deſerving of the ſevereſt puniſhment the laws can inflict, for ignorance cannot now be alledged as an excuſe.

When the unfortunate French monarch was no more [*Note* O.] and the convention had ſeen its enemies repulſed, the diviſions between Robeſpierre's party and the Girondiſts augmented every day. France was now only ruled by murderers, there were no more victims to be pointed out amongſt the privileged orders, nor enemies to the public tranquillity by bad conduct in the government; the ſavages now occupied the foreſt alone, and therefore were obliged to turn upon and tear each other.

The miſeries of the people continued to augment in the midſt of victory, and under the dominion of republicans. The ſame mode was ſtill practiſed that had been employed before, to make the ſovereign people have patience. The parties accuſed each other, and quarrelled about their power; they united, however, in proſcribing and putting to death the rich proprietors of thoſe attached to the old ſyſtem, who remained; they united their efforts to flatter the people, and to give them hopes by a ſort of conſtitution which they made, by ſhutting up the churches, by perſecuting thoſe who ſhewed any attachment

to

to religion, and by finally attacking the monied men.*

When this laſt claſs of proprietors found themſelves likely to be attacked, they determined to gain over one of the parties in the aſſembly, and it was to the Girondiſts that they applied. It was, in fact, a matter of little importance which of the two parties took up the protection of this ſort of property, becauſe from the moment that any ſet of men in France became attached to order, and the preſervation of property, they became themſelves a prey to the ſans culottes, to the men who had nothing, whoſe hunger for gold was never ſatisfied, and whoſe thirſt for blood was never aſſuaged.

We have yet ſeen nothing equal to this combat; it was not that of the wild animal againſt the tame, it was that of the tyger againſt the tyger,

* When the convention aſſembled, moſt part of the actors at the Hotel de Ville in Auguſt and September were choſen. Robeſpierre had left the commune to become a repreſentative; Talien, who was a ſecretary, and Hebert, the judge of Madame de Lamballe, had done the ſame; Danton had quitted the place of miniſter of juſtice, and thoſe were the leaders of the Mountain; Briſſot, Condorcet, Thomas Paine, &c. &c. were of the Girondiſt party, and expected to continue their reign by laying the rich bankers under contribution, and then eſtabliſhing order.

and which ever party fell, it was now no longer a ſubject for pity or regret.

The Girondiſt party thought proper to diſtinguiſh their opponents by the title of ANARCHISTS, and it was not at all wonderful, if their newborn attachment to order ſhould be attributed to ſelfiſh plans, or ſome ſudden motives; for it was but with a bad grace, that men who had headed inſurrection, and diſſeminated its principles from the very beginning of the revolution, now preached obedience to law, and regard for property; inſurrection was a holy duty they ſtill could not deny, but it might, they ſaid, be *continued too long*.

The efforts of the Briſſotins, aſſiſted by thoſe miniſters who had ſigned the death warrant of their * maſter, and by thoſe who conducted him to

* The miniſters who ſigned the order for the king's execution, were

Roland—ſince cut his own throat on the high road, his wife guillotined.

Servan—guillotined ſince as a Briſſotin.

Le Brun—guillotined.

Claviere—cut his throat in priſon, and his wife took poiſon.

Bournonville—a priſoner in Germany.

Paſhe—a priſoner in France.

Petion and Manuel, along with the above honourable gentlemen, now preached order, but the farce was too groſs even to be

to the ſcaffold, now preached order and humanity, and reſpect to property and perſons. They then found themſelves in the ſame ſituation that the court had been in before the 10th of Auguſt; the rabble was now no longer at their command, and their laſt hour arrived.

The Briſſotins had, as we have already ſaid, been accuſed by the other party of cauſing the war with England, and they had defended themſelves but in a feeble manner. A circumſtance which now happened, facilitated the triumph of their enemies; Dumourier was found to have ambitious views, which did not correſpond with liberty and equality; he had been defeated by the enemy, and the anger of the people was excited againſt the Briſſotins, as being Dumourier's friends, and the cauſe of ſo unfortunate a war. The ſtorm was now ready to burſt upon their heads; and their enemies haſtened it, by contriving to call them fœderaliſts, (implying that they wiſhed

be played in Paris, and accordingly the people of Paris never ſhewed ſo much pleaſure as when thoſe of them who were caught, were carried to the guillotine. Even the mob of Paris had yet ſome reſpect for virtue, and contempt for vice; none of the royaliſts were inſulted in the manner that the Duke of Orleans, Briſſot, Hebert, Danton, and Robeſpierre himſelf, were, when they were carried to puniſhment. When conſcience cannot ſpeak loud, it whiſpers, and it would appear every ſentiment of juſtice is never extinguiſhed in the minds of men.

to divide France into provinces, as the American republic is divided.) The *unity and indiviſibility* of the republic was then put upon a par with the liberty and equality of its inhabitants; and to plot againſt the one was as great a crime as againſt the other. It was for this imaginary crime that the new apoſtles of order were attacked; and after having twenty times eſcaped merited puniſhment for their attack upon law and order, they were now going to be ſacrificed for daring to defend it.*

When the Girond party found themſelves ready to be attacked, they began with attacking the anarchiſts in a pamphlet. This pamphlet, written in the name of an Addreſs from Briſſot to his Conſtituents, is, when taken all in all, one of the moſt curious pieces of compoſition that ever was produced.† It is alſo one of the moſt valuable

* Dumourier, as far as the politics of ſo inconceivable a man can be known, was attached to the Girondiſt party; and at all events, as this was ſuppoſed, that party ſhared a little in his diſgrace. It is certain that the plans of conqueſt, as propoſed by Briſſot, Condorcet, and Kerſaint, were ſuch as Dumourier approved of the moſt; and it will be recollected, he had been miniſter with Roland, Claviere, &c. during the king's life.

† This pamphlet is the moſt ſevere criticiſm or ſatyr, conſidering from whom it came, that could poſſibly be written upon French liberty and equality; in it Briſſot evidently ſpeaks from conviction and experience, that the ſtate into which the anar-

able, if we conſider it as the criticiſm of a leader of revolutions, upon the principles of revolution, it unveils all the plans of the parties, and declaims againſt the evils of anarchy in as ſtrong terms as any royaliſt could do. [*Note* P.]

This publication was a ſtep very ſimilar to that taken by La Fayette the year before, when he left his army to come to give a leſſon to the aſſembly. La Fayette, after ſhewing the example of rebellion, had the inſolence to ſet his face againſt it; and now Petion and Briſſot, juſt as proud of the 10th of Auguſt as La Fayette was of taking the Baſtile, had the inſolence, in their turn, to write a pamphlet againſt anarchy.

anarchiſts had thrown France, was the moſt deplorable to which any country could be reduced; that the repreſentatives enjoyed no liberty, and that the laws were totally without force, perſons without ſecurity, and property without protection; yet he breaks out from time to time into exclamations in favour of glorious liberty and ſacred equality, ſuch as it was in France. There is ſomething in that contradiction that it is difficult to explain. Vanity, it might appear, hindered him from renouncing his favourite ſyſtem (for republicans are the vaineſt people in the world) and truth forced from him an avowal of the real exiſting miſeries. One is tempted to think, that on this ſubject of liberty and equality, his ideas had run ſo much, that he had loſt the faculty of reaſoning; for it is quite clear, that it was the very theory which he approved that led to thoſe very miſeries of which he complained, ſo that without admitting ſome derangement of ideas, it is difficult to account for his conduct and his writings.

The anarchiſts now meted out to the Girondiſts the ſame meaſure which they had meaſured out to their king, and this pamphlet ſerved as the ſignal to begin.*

A committee had been formed by the convention to inquire into the illegal arreſts and confiſcations carried on by the municipal officers, and other conſtituted authorities. This was a meaſure adopted at the requeſt and by the power of the Briſſotin faction, in order to keep their word with men of property. The addreſs of Briſſot againſt the anarchiſts had been publiſhed on the 25th of May, and on the 27th a crowd ſurrounded the aſſembly, demanding the diſſolution of this committee. This mob was headed by what were called *revolutionary committees*,† and as an armed mob

* Ever ſince the month of September a ſort of diviſion had exiſted between Robeſpierre's, Marat's, and the Gironde party, becauſe Briſſot had not ſpoke favourably of the maſſacres, and becauſe reſtrictions had been laid upon the newſpaper printers, of whom he was one. As there is a vindictive ſpirit of the moſt implacable ſort in all thoſe chiefs of parties, this breach was naturally widening, but the protection of monied men, which was a profitable job in perſpective, brought matters to a concluſion ſooner than they would otherwiſe have been.

† The meaſures adopted now were all *revolutionary*; this was the name invented by the violent party in the Jacobin club, to excuſe their exceſſes. The conſtitutionaliſts had given a leſſon to their enemies of the folly of thinking to truſt to laws and regulation

mob is an eloquent orator, the aſſembly decreed the deſtruction of their committee by the uſual method of ſtanding up. Next day, however, when the mob was not aſſembled at the gate, this decree was ſuſpended until the committee ſhould have made its report; and on the 30th the *revolutionary* council came to intimate to the aſſembly, that it would be *neceſſary to obey the order* given by the populace, and thus, in the midſt of armed petitioners, and the cries and imprecations of the people in the galleries, the ſuppreſſion was again determined upon and decreed.

On the 31ſt the anarchiſts, convinced that they had only yet the appearance of victory, but not the reality, ſummoned to their poſt the men of the 10th of Auguſt.* The tocſin was ſounded, and

gulations for preſerving an uſurped power. The government of Morocco may be called revolutionary, and by that means the emperors can make ſome ſort of reſiſtance when they are attacked, but Louis XVI. and thoſe who adhered to the conſtitution, could make none. It was neceſſary for the king to have the order of the mayor of Paris, before he could *legally* defend his own life, whilſt thoſe who revolted, fettered by no law, could attack him when or where, or in what manner they pleaſed. Inſtead of now having the conſtituted authorities, they had revolutionary authorities, who having the faculty of acting as they thought proper, were upon a par with the populace, and could, upon occaſion, make head againſt them.

* When it was ſaid in the proſpectus of the preſent work, that it would plainly appear, that the firſt principles laid down

and the cannon of alarm fired, and Henriot the commandant ordered the guards to march and ſurround the aſſembly. A petition was then preſented, demanding a decree of arreſt againſt thirty-five members of the Girondiſt party. The aſſembly, in order to get rid of the armed force, demanded three days to examine this petition.*

Since the 30th of May the barriers had been ſhut, and the uſual forms of inſurrection were in full activity. The directors of the poſt office † were changed, and all letters were examined.

On the 2d of June, the revolutionary committee appeared again at the bar, *and for the laſt time demanded* the accuſation of the members.

by the conſtituent aſſembly, in their rights of man, led on to the laſt exceſſes, it was by no means a miſtake. This is now the third revolution upon the ſame plan, and they are all as like each other as the ſteps of the ſame ladder; the materials and the diſtance from the point of ſetting out are different, but every thing elſe is the ſame.

* It is ſtrange to ſee how Petion and his friends had loſt their intriguing energy of the 10th of Auguſt; it is difficult to conceive, how the ſame men, who were ſo active and ſo artful at diſarming royalty, and attacking the king, ſhould be ſo inactive and careleſs, when for ſeveral days running the ſame manœuvres were preparing againſt themſelves.

† The directors of the poſt had all been changed immediately after the maſſacres of September, but had been ſucceeded by Girondiſts; ſo that the party now getting into power was determined not to leave this ſuperiority in the hands of their enemies.

The

The * assembly thought proper to pass to the order of the day, upon which the petitioners made a sign to the spectators to go out and take arms, that they might by force obtain what they wanted. At mid-day the tocsin sounds again, and the cannon of alarm is fired, the citizens are called to take arms and obey their commander.†

The assembly was surrounded as the palace had been the year before, but with an apparatus still more formidable; more than an hundred cannon were pointed against the house of assembly, furnaces for red hot balls were prepared, and an order was given to let no one depart, but to fire on the first of the representatives of the nation who dared so much as to look through the iron rails. Marat and the chiefs of the Mountain were very active on this occasion, and it is more than probable, that these formidable preparations were intended only to intimidate, for it would not

* The assembly did not now meet in a riding school as it had formerly done; the royal palace was converted into a national palace; and it was here that the attack was conducted against the convention.

† Santerre, named commander on the 10th of August, was not now revolutionary enough for the party of Robespierre; besides, he had been attached to the Duke of Orleans: to get rid of him he had been named general of an army to go against the Vendée, and one Henriot, a commis des barrieres, commanded in his place.

have

have anſwered the purpoſe of the anarchiſts to fire upon the convention.

The promoters of the diſturbance were many of them in the hall, and thoſe did not certainly wiſh to be ſcorched with red hot balls, neither could it be ſuppoſed, that if the convention were maſſacred, Paris could continue to reign over France, by deſiring them to ſend more repreſentatives to ſuch a city.

The ceremony of preparing grates for heating cannon balls was, therefore, probably only intended by theſe hardy ſons of inſurrection as a leſſon to their maſters, ſeveral of whom were beaten and had their cloaths torn.*

Several battalions, which ſhould have marched againſt the royaliſts in the Vendée before that day, arrived ſuddenly, and took poſſeſſion of all the paſſages and apartments adjoining to the hall, where they were bribed with aſſignats and wine, in order to induce them to be faithful and withſtand the eloquence of the deputies.

* The reader will remember, that preciſely the ſame things took place previous to the 10th of Auguſt, when the decree againſt La Fayette was wanted from the aſſembly by the ſurrounding mob. The perſecutors then were the perſecuted now, that was all the difference.

The

The beſiegers were well armed, and the national palace (ſay the deputies) became a priſon, where the repreſentatives of the people were menaced, inſulted, and degraded. It was preciſely what had happened in the royal palace the year before, and the parties that then degraded royalty were the ſame who complained of being themſelves degraded now.

Barrere was called upon to make the report of the committee on the accuſed members. Barrere, floating in the uncertainty of which party might prevail, propoſed, in the name of the committee, that thoſe members who were accuſed, but againſt whom no proofs had been produced, ſhould be *invited* to ſuſpend their functions. Some of the accuſed members accepted of this *invitation*.* This ſacrifice being made to the people, the convention became more bold, and ordered the commandant of the troops to the bar. The order was laughed at; ſeveral deputies were inſulted, the convention

* Barrere, who followed Robeſpierre in all his exceſſes, was a man never decided in opinion, but when he was either obliged to be ſo, or knew that he was certain of ſupport. The appearance of moderation, in the preſent caſe, was, becauſe the real ſtrength of parties had not been tried; Barrere and the committee who made the report, and ſaid, that nothing had been proved againſt the accuſed, might, in time of need, have made a merit of it with the accuſed. When things were decided, this ſame Barrere joined with others in ſending the accuſed to the ſcaffold.

ordered

ordered thoſe who inſulted them to be brought to the bar; this order was reſiſted by force. It was then determined to adjourn, and to ſhut the TEMPLE OF THE LAW. This was attempted by all the members in a body, with the preſident at their head. The preſident ordered the centinels to retire, and the troop of lawgivers got to the middle of the court, when Henriot the commandant ordered them to turn back. The convention, ſaid the preſident, will receive orders from no perſon; poſſeſſed of powers received from the French nation, the French nation alone can give orders to the convention.*

The commandant on this drew his ſabre, put his cavalry in battle array, and ordered the artillery men to point their guns. The preſident and all the members vied with each other in their haſte to return to the hall, and decree, that the accuſed ſhould be arreſted. Briſſot, Petion, and their companions,† were ordered to be confined in their own houſes, and in going there they ought

* The ſimilarity of this ſpeech and that of Mirabeau at Verſailles is great. M. de Brezé was a courtier, Henriot was a clerk at a toll-bar or turnpike. We ſee which of the two knew beſt how to reduce the deputies to obedience.

† Briſſot, Petion, Guadet, Genſoné, Gorſas, Vergreaud, Salles, Barbaroux, Chambon, Buzot, Biroteau, Ledon, Rabaut de St. Etienne, Laſource, Languinais, Grangeneuve, Le Hardy, Le Sage, Kervelegan, Gardier, Borleau, Bertrand, Viger, Mollovaut, Govamaire, la Reviere, and Bergoin.

to

to have remembered that their king was not treated with ſuch lenity. His houſe was robbed and plundered, and he was ſent to a miſerable priſon, and all thoſe ſuſpected of attachment to his perſon or family were maſſacred, impriſoned, or driven into exile.

Let us hear what the arreſted deputies themſelves ſay on this occaſion, in an addreſs to their conſtituents.

" Frenchmen, you who wiſh to be freemen " and republicans, behold ſuch facts as cannot " be denied; we only offer you the outline, and " we ſuppreſs details of facts ſtill more atrocious. " The national repreſentation, impriſoned, de- " graded, and deliberating under the poniards of " the aſſaſſins of an audacious faction, exiſts no " more. Let not your rights be any longer " uſurped; leave not the exerciſe of national " ſovereignty in ſuch hands; ſave liberty, ſacred " equality, the unity, and indiviſibility of the " republic: without theſe, France is loſt. Re- " pel with horror all propoſitions tending to fœ- " deraliſm. Rally, aſſemble, you may yet ſave " the republic: the republic is France itſelf, and " does not reſide within the walls of Paris. " There your repreſentatives, priſoners, dare no " longer ſpeak; but, no matter, they well know " how to die worthy of you, worthy of them-

"ſelves, too happy, if after that their country "can be ſaved. When the moment of national "vengeance ſhall be arrived, Frenchmen, do "not forget that Paris itſelf is innocent; that the "citizens of Paris were ignorant of the plots of "which they became the blind inſtruments. It "is not upon Paris that the terrible and all-"powerful hand of the nation ſhould ſtrike, but "upon that horde of miſerable wretches and rob-"bers who have taken poſſeſſion of Paris and of "France, who cannot live but by crimes, and "who have no hope but in the continuation of "crimes. Adieu."

Paris, 7th June, 2d year of the French republic.

Such were the complaints of the inſtigators of revolt, when it was turned againſt themſelves. They now made a very ſevere criticiſm on the reſults of their own principles, and are an eternal example for thoſe who think to rule inſurrection, and turn it always to their own advantage.

This addreſs produced a conſiderable effect. It was not now one of thoſe clear caſes of ſuſpected ariſtocrats and royal deſpots; it was repreſentatives againſt repreſentatives, and the inſurgents of Auguſt 1792 againſt thoſe of May 1793. The ſame truths which the royaliſts had never ceaſed to repeat from the beginning of the revolution without

without any effect, now produced a ſchiſm and diviſion amongſt the different provinces.

The Lyoneſe, the people of Marſeilles, Bourdeaux, and the adjacent country, as well as part of Normandy, took part with the arreſted deputies. It was partly in conſequence of this ſame affair that the port and city of Toulon were delivered up to the Engliſh and Spaniſh fleets; and it was this diviſion in the interior of France that occaſioned the inactivity of the French army during the ſummer, when Condé and Valenciennes were taken by the allied armies.

Had the royaliſt party and the combined powers ſeized this occaſion to puſh matters, it is probable that things might have gone much better for them than they have done. But the errors of that campaign and of the cabinets of Europe, were inexcuſable, and are only to be equalled by the long train of misfortunes which they occaſioned.

The combined powers attributed their firſt defeats to the want of ſupport from the malcontents in the nation---ſupport which they had been promiſed; and now, when France was a ſcene of open revolt and complete civil war, what did the combined armies of Auſtria and England do? They waſted a whole ſummer, ſpent millions of

of money, and ſpoiled their beſt pieces of ordnance, in taking Valenciennes, to abandon it the year after without firing a ſhot.*

Lyons, which from its poſition, its riches, the vaſt number of its inhabitants,† and, above all, their diſpoſition, was worth millions to the allied powers, was left to ſink under the armies of the convention, without an attempt being made to give it aſſiſtance, which would have been ſo eaſily done. Lyons fought for liberty and property againſt anarchy and pillage; and, though it did not abſolutely fight for the Houſe of Bourbon, it fought for the cauſe which intereſts men much more, and which, had it triumphed, would have ultimately ſerved the cauſe of royalty.

But, if a royal cauſe alone could excite the efforts of the cabinets of Europe, they had an opportunity to ſupport it by aſſiſting the royaliſts in Britany; in that part of France where the ſpirit of irreligion and innovation had not taken root, and which is called the Vendée. Arms, money, and a leader, were all they wanted, and the com-

* Valenciennes was not abſolutely abandoned without firing a ſhot, but it was nearly the ſame thing; the garriſon capitulated without either a regular defence or a regular attack.

† Lyons was an immenſe town, not much leſs than half the ſize of Paris; a very induſtrious people, and might have been very eaſily aſſiſted from Savoy, or even from Alſace.

bined

bined powers had all these at their disposition. The Count d'Artois, brave by nature, and now rendered wiser by misfortune, offered himself as the leader * of the royalists, and as a leader who would have carried along with him all those emigrant gentlemen who have been idle and unemployed, because they did never know for what cause, nor under what standard, they were to serve.†

What did England do on this occasion? Why, during the precious months that France was on

* The Count d'Artois had been at Petersburg, which place he left with the expectation of going directly to the Vendee. The sloop of war in which he was lay off Hull for several weeks. Government here, for reasons best known to itself, would not consent to his landing in the Vendee. In military affairs as nothing is certain it is possible that this step was wise; but it is very certain that the steps taken, of raising troops and threatening an invasion were very foolish; it was exactly exciting the republicans to the slaughter of the royalists.

† The emigrants have been treated with a mixture of cruelty and good-nature by the English government, for which it is very difficult to account, unless by supposing that they inspired pity, but not confidence, or that the minister had no fixed plan of operations. Be that as it may, the emigrants might have served the cause of the coalesced powers very effectually. They should have been considered as a separate body, and treated with upon a certain basis, as independent powers treat. The reason of this is, that their interest would then have led them to put every means to work, and strain every nerve to succeed; at present they know not what is their interest.

the brink of a decided civil war, and when many parts of that republic had actually revolted, a ſort of an army was collected in England under the command of an excellent and a brave man, with the profeſſed deſign of aiding the royaliſts in Brittany, but without ever really attempting to do ſo.* This expedition, which ought to have been executed, but never made public, was made notoriouſly public, and never executed. The conſequence was, as might be expected, that the royaliſts were ſoon after attacked with all the vigour that the convention could diſplay; and what might have reſtored royalty to France was only productive of carnage and bloodſhed to the almoſt entire extinction of the unfortunate men who had truſted to promiſes of aſſiſtance from England.

Time and opportunity were loſt, and if experience can inſtruct, when it is attended with misfortune, there is not a doubt but that long ago the

* This affair, it will be ſaid, like moſt others, has two ways of being viewed. The people of the Vendee were to have ſecured ſome ſea-port for our arms and troops to be landed at, and in that caſe we ſhould have aſſiſted them; but it is a fact, that our preparations were ſo publicly made, and ſo long in making, that the forces of the convention came down in ſuch numbers as to render it impoſſible. Beſides, it was never troops that were wanted, ſtrangers would have only ſerved to hinder the republicans from joining the royaliſts; money, ſtores, and arms, were what ſhould have been ſent.

different leaders of the cabinets of Europe are convinced of their error.

Thoſe who at the beginning of the war expected ſucceſs would attend the combined arms, counted chiefly upon the diſorders and diviſions of France. Theſe diſorders and diviſions took place, but the combined powers did not turn them to advantage; ſo that the miſerable people who had revolted were obliged to ſubmit to their cruel tyrants, and, if now not more unanimous than before with reſpect to their own government, they are perfectly unanimous in reſolving never again to depend upon the allies for ſupport.

Thoſe who look upon the deſpotiſm of Robeſpierre and the guillotine, as being the cauſe of the violent exertions of the French nation, ſurely then miſtake the caſe. The unanimity of the French nation proceeded from the deſpair to which thoſe were reduced who had ſeen Lyons unaſſiſted, Toulon evacuated, and the Vendee ruined and laid waſte, becauſe the Engliſh had eſtabliſhed a camp of parade, and menaced an invaſion from Jerſey, Guernſey, and the Iſle of Wight. The example of thoſe unfortunate places which had been ſubdued, were the cauſe of men in France unanimouſly ſubmitting to Robeſpierre, and the cruelty which he exerciſed was the conſequence of his triumph, from which reſulted the

implicit obedience given to his orders, and the violent efforts of the next campaign.

The party of Robeſpierre grew ſtronger every day during the ſummer, becauſe anarchy found ſupporters, and thoſe who wiſhed for order found none. Some of the arreſted members found means to eſcape, and the trial of thoſe who remained in cuſtody, and who were after ſome time, transferred from their own houſes to a priſon, was commenced, but it went ſlowly on.

In proportion as Robeſpierre's party gained ſtrength, vigorous meaſures were taken againſt their enemies, and a revolutionary tribunal was inſtituted, where a packed jury, paid witneſſes, and judges who were totally at the command of the ruling party, daily put to death numbers without any crime proved, and frequently without any particular reaſon aſſigned.

CHAP. XII.

Robeſpierre's party acquires ſolidity—Maſſacres at Lyons—Trial of the queen—Her character juſtified from the ſcandalous imputations ſpread over all Europe on her account—Her expenſes an example both to princes and people—Unfair trial and execution of the Briſſotines—Robeſpierre reigns without controul—Marat aſſaſſinated—Great number of priſoners in the different jails of France—Danger of being a proprietor—D'Orleans, Barnave, Manuel, and Bailly, executed—Fête of Reaſon—Hebert's party ſtarts up in oppoſition to Robeſpierre—Syſtem of terror completely eſtabliſhed—Hebert's party falls—Danton's party falls—Robeſpierre's power again re-eſtabliſhed without controul.

THE reduction of Lyons was the firſt thing that gave a ſolid foundation to the power of the ruling party. The national commiſſaries, who were ſent there, exceeded in their cruel vengeance every thing that hiſtory relates. When an unruly ſoldiery enters into a conquered city, the deſire of plunder and the thirſt of revenge may, as it has on many occaſions, lead to exceſſes which make nature ſhudder, but then they have been exceſſes which all men condemn, and which even their perpetrators do not preſume or attempt excuſing.

cuſing. The maſſacres at Lyons were done by men in cold blood as matters of juſtice and right;* they boaſted of them to the convention, and the letters of the commiſſaries were filled with execrations againſt the inhabitants of the devoted city, and profeſſions of their own loyalty to the nation, to liberty and equality.

Two hundred citizens, traitors, ſay they, have ſuffered death this day, and to-morrow there will fall double that number; the priſons are full, and in the lower cells are barrels of gunpowder, on the ſmalleſt ſignal of evaſion they will be all blown in the air.†

When the rulers of France began to conceive a hope of remaining maſters, the deputies who had eſcaped were declared out-laws and deſerving death, wherever they ſhould be found. Gorſas

* It was before Lyons was taken, and indeed before it revolted openly, that the commiſſaries againſt whom Briſſot complains inſulted the people of Lyons by their cruelties and exceſſes. After they had put in priſon the fathers of families, they obliged their wives and children, who came to implore pity and pardon, to dance, to drink, and to ſing. The commiſſioners, after its reduction, were ſtill worſe.

† The only reaſon aſſigned for not blowing up all the priſoners in Lyons at once, was the danger to the executioners themſelves. Grape ſhot, muſket ſhot, and the guillotine, were all employed, but the commiſſaries were continually lamenting the ſlowneſs of the juſtice.

was the firſt who was caught, and he was guillotined in twenty-four hours after: this was what they called the initiative of the decapitation of deputies, and prepared the way for the trials of the others.

To prepare the people for the judgment of the detained repreſentatives, and to divert them from the loſs of Valenciennes, the convention thought proper to gratify their thirſt of blood and its own vengeance, by bringing to the laſt puniſhment the unfortunate queen.

Vengeance and ſavage ferocity were, however, on this occaſion, completely humiliated, by the calm, mild, and dignified behaviour of an injured and inſulted princeſs. Never has the world been witneſs to a ſcene where more modeſt and becoming dignity was diſplayed by the accuſed, nor where leſs regard was paid to decency, truth, humanity, and juſtice, by the accuſers.

All Europe had been filled with libels, and aſperſions againſt the queen of France, even in the days of her power and proſperity, and what the attachment of her friends could never accompliſh, the infamous accuſations of her enemies effected in a moment. Calumny was ſilenced, and not a doubt left with reſpect to purity of a reputation ſo often and ſo unjuſtly attacked.

Neither offers of reward, nor threats of vengeance, had been able to procure one ſingle proof of criminality or vice againſt the widow of the unfortunate king, whom, in order to find guilty, though a ſtranger, unprotected and alone, her enemies ſaw themſelves reduced to the neceſſity of employing the moſt diſgraceful, abominable, and abſurd, of all expedients; her infant ſon was intoxicated, and at the ſuggeſtion of that miſcreant Hebert, whoſe name alone brings to mind every thing that is vicious or wicked, the affectionate careſſes of a mother to a child of nine years of age were conſtrued by thoſe monſters into a crime, the committing of which would be unnatural, if it were not impoſſible.*

The

* Hebert publiſhed a paper, called the *Pere du Cheſne*, in which oaths, blaſphemies, and obſcenities, filled up two-thirds, at leaſt, of every ſentence; it would be neceſſary to have ſeen a ſpecimen of that precious morſel, in order to form an idea of the talents of its author, and the refined taſte of the Pariſian ſans culottes. Well, this ſame Hebert propoſed to bring the young prince into court and queſtion him, after having him in a ſtate of intoxication; not that even then he could be brought to accuſe his mother, but queſtions were to be aſked in ſuch a way, that the anſwers might be conſtrued unfavourably for the mother. This artifice was ſo glaring, that even the judges of the revolutionary tribunal objected to it; the ſpectators, they ſaid, would ſee through it: an examination was then fabricated by Hebert and ſome of his companions. Even the ſatellites of the tribunal found this accuſation too abominable and abſurd, to which the queen very properly refuſed to anſwer, but by an appeal to the hearts and feelings of *all mothers*.

Hebert

The queen of France had long ſuffered every inſult and humiliation which it was poſſible for her enemies to invent, and certainly, if Frenchmen had retained any of that humanity and feeling which they pretended to poſſeſs, the departments and the whole of France would have joined in demanding for her that reſpect which is due to misfortune, and that juſtice which is due to a defenceleſs ſtranger. Such a ſtep would have been highly honourable. There was no reaſon for not doing ſo, as it could have been attended neither with tumult nor danger. But the French nation has ſhewn, that with a ſuperabundant vanity, and pretenſions to every virtue, it poſſeſſes none; and that it would be better for defenceleſs innocence to be in a cavern of robbers in a foreſt, than to be before the revolutionary tribunal of Paris.

As the character, the rank, and the accompliſhments of this unfortunate queen, have in-

Hebert was the projector of the worſhip of reaſon; his miſtreſs perſonated the goddeſs of reaſon; but Robeſpierre's feaſt, in honour of the Supreme Being, did away all this, the deſpot having previouſly ſent both the oracle and the goddeſs to the guillotine. Paris was never diſpoſed to be more gay than when the Pere du Cheſne mounted the ſcaffold, even the executioner mocked and inſulted him, to the great delight of the ſpectators. Such circumſtances lead to a hope, that all ſentiment of juſtice is not yet baniſhed from the minds even of the Pariſians, and that the day may yet come, when all the companions of his crimes will all be treated in the ſame manner.

ſpired

ſpired her advocates with a warmth of expreſſion that is very natural and excuſable, though ill-fitted to convince the malicious, it may not be improper to prove, as far as probable evidence can go, that the queen of France was totally irreproachable on the ſubject of fidelity to the marriage bed. This digreſſion, it is hoped, will be excuſed, when it is remembered, that many of thoſe who once flouriſhed in the ſun-ſhine of her favour, contributed by their own levity of conduct, as well as by their ſilence, to ſupport calumnies which it would have been their duty and their intereſt to contradict; and when we have the example of whole volumes being written to vindicate the characters of queens, who, though perhaps more beautiful, were certainly not more accompliſhed, were leſs unfortunate, and much more liable to reproach, than the daughter of Maria Tereſa. It will be a relief to us, after contemplating the horrors and villanies of men, to dwell for a moment on the virtues of an amiable woman.

We ought, in the firſt place, to conſider, that innocence, unleſs when the charges are direct, can never be proved by poſitive evidence; we muſt be contented with probable evidence, as the nature of things does not admit of any other.

The

The court of France was in a very corrupted and diſorderly ſtate when the late queen arrived and was married to the Dauphin. The example of a king, who, in his latter days, had given a looſe to debauchery, was followed with eagerneſs amongſt a nobility naturally given to the ſame ſort of vice.

At that time Madame du Barry,* raiſed from being upon the town, in a very inferior ſtile, to be miſtreſs of the king, diſpenſed the royal favour amongſt the courtiers, and, of conſequence, the young German princeſs made her entry in the midſt of cabals, intrigues, and enemies. Open, amiable, and generous, ſhe ſoon had friends, but innocent and unſuſpecting ſhe expoſed herſelf to the ſlander of her enemies, from which thoſe friends could not protect her.

When, after the death of his grandfather, Louis XVI. began to reign, his ſimple manner of life, his want of taſte for the pleaſures and diſſipations of the court, contraſted with the love of ſplendor carried too far, and of gaiety which the queen did not attempt to conceal, gave room for the courtiers at Verſailles and the people of Paris,

* Madame du Barry conducted herſelf, however, on moſt occaſions, with a moderation and prudence that did her great honour, the old king was not ſo prudent as his young miſtreſs, and often not ſo juſt.

ſo

ſo much addicted to ſcandal, to ſuſpicion, and ſo much accuſtomed to find ſcandal and ſuſpicion, juſtified by the looſeneſs of their own conduct, to raiſe thoſe reports, which ſpreading all over Europe, tarniſhed her character.*

The French always judge of others by themſelves, it is the failing of their nation, and they did not conſider, that a princeſs deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious and the proudeſt families in Europe, and who was accuſed by themſelves of having too much Auſtrian pride, would have been irreparably humiliated and ruined, had ſhe put herſelf for a moment in the power of any perſon upon this delicate ſubject.

But levity and the national character of the French did not alone contribute to ſpread and circulate theſe reports, the Duke of Orleans, and all his adherents and aſſociates, exerted themſelves to give plauſibility and probability to defamation; and particular circumſtances which malignity had contrived, were circulated by unſuſpicious credulity.

The levellers, who began to wiſh for that ſyſtem which they have ſince ſeen realiſed, ſeized

* The turn of the French for this ſort of ſcandal was ſo great, that, by becoming univerſal, it ſeemed to have rendered their manner of ſpreading it an affair of courſe.

upon

upon this occaſion to degrade royalty; the king of France was laughed at, and turned into ridicule, and before the revolution began no two perſons in the kingdom were ſo much miſunderſtood as to their real characters as the king and queen.

A myſterious affair of a trick played upon the Cardinal de Rohan, about a diamond necklace,* by ſome of thoſe fortune-hunters, male and female, who ſwarmed in Paris, in which the queen had been perſonated by a Mamoiſelle Oliva, who reſembled her conſiderably in features and perſon, made a noiſe all over Europe, and as this affair was never properly ſearched to the bottom and explained, many people believed the queen was actually one of the adventurers who duped the cardinal.

* This affair of the necklace was merely a trick practiſed on the cardinal, who had been ambaſſador at Vienna when the ſcheme of the marriage of Louis XVI. firſt took place. He had tried rather to prevent the union, and as he did not ſucceed was not in the good graces of the parties after it had taken place. The cardinal had always been ſurrounded with adventurers, who pretended to have diſcovered the art of making gold, and other valuable ſecrets in chemiſtry; a plan was formed by ſome of theſe adventurers to dupe him out of a great ſum of money, upon the idea that the queen wiſhed to be poſſeſſed of this necklace, and that if he could procure it, he would get into favour at court.

In

In France, as the firſt impreſſion is generally yielded to, things are ſeldom much examined and compared, otherwiſe the queen ſhould either have been acquitted of this, or, if not, acquitted of the accuſation of laviſhing away millions every week; for if ſhe had ſuch ſums at her command, how could any one ſuppoſe that a lady who never ſhewed that ſhe would ſtoop to play a mean part, ſhould, for the ſake of ſo ſmall a ſum, put herſelf into the hands of her enemies, and, in ſhort, become the aſſociate of half a dozen miſerables, who would probably finiſh by dividing the ſpoils amongſt themſelves? this was ridiculous. The ſtory of the necklace * would have been barely probable if the queen had been a mean ſpirited woman, who had not any means of procuring money to defray her extravagances.

* The value of the necklace was only 1,400,000 livres, or 60,000l. ſterling, and could not ſell for half that ſum; it was ridiculous for thoſe ſame perſons, who accuſed the queen of giving ſuch large ſums to her favourites, to ſuppoſe ſhe would go ſhares with ſix or ſeven ſwindlers, for ſuch a ſum as this; beſides, ſuch a charge required ſome proof, and none was ever produced.

Another report was, that ſhe did this to be revenged of the cardinal; this is, if poſſible, ſtill more inconceivable, and requires no anſwer, after the diſpoſition to pardon her enemies which the queen had on ſo many occaſions, both before and during the revolution, manifeſted. *To remember, but not to retaliate*, was known to be her maxim with reſpect to enemies.

Such

Such were the cauſes that operated principally in making injurious reports be ſpread, and the queen, who though preſerving dignity, through which a conſiderable ſhare of pride could be ſeen, was good-natured in the extreme, was unſuſpecting, familiar, and generous; ſhe had baniſhed from her private ſocieties the ſtiff etiquette of a court, which ſeemed the more ſtrange in a princeſs who came from a country where court etiquette is carried to an extreme; this gave a ſort of probability to the accuſations which were brought againſt her.

The facts, however, were quite different; the queen was generous and loved power, but ſhe had no other means of gratifying thoſe, which were her ruling paſſions, than by preſerving the affection and confidence of her huſband; and it may be aſſerted, without danger of being contradicted by thoſe who approached theſe two perſonages the neareſt, that the king was literally in love with the queen, (*amoureux d'elle*) during the whole of their union, and that, though her turn for expenſe vexed him to the heart, in other reſpects ſhe enjoyed his full confidence and eſteem, and it is certain that the queen made no other uſe of this aſcendancy ſo obtained over her huſband, than to make her friends and thoſe around her happy.

Thoſe

Thoſe who imagine, that the king of France would have ſubmitted peaceably to any thing that looked like a ſerious indignity offered, knew nothing of his character.* Like moſt good-natured, plain, honeſt men, the king was quite ungovernable when he found people were unjuſt or treated him ill; he then became unmanageable and obſtinate to a violent degree, and if the queen had once committed an *irreparable* fault, he certainly would not have pardoned her, and from that inſtant ſhe would have loſt her power over him.

Thoſe again, who think that the queen could have been guilty of infidelity without the king knowing any thing of the matter, are ſtill more miſtaken. We have obſerved, that ſhe commenced her career at Verſailles in the midſt of enemies, and that ſhe never was without ſuch, the ſlanders which we are refuting is a proof; thoſe enemies never loſt ſight of her motions, and if the ſmalleſt ground had been given for ſerious ſuſpicions, it would immediately have been turned by them to their advantage.

* Since the revolution, if the king did not ſhew this diſpoſition, he only acted like other priſoners, who know that ill-humour only doubles the evil, but when things uſed to vex him from wilful extravagance or miſmanagement, few people were more difficult to keep within bounds. This is often the caſe with well-meaning men.

Thoſe

Thoſe who * were friends to the queen, and who depended upon her bounty, or, at leaſt, who profited of her bounty, were as much intereſted in watching her conduct, to *prevent* any thing that might deſtroy her influence and blaſt their hopes, as her enemies were to watch *for* ſuch an event; ſo that on all hands the queen was ſurrounded with ſpies, and the ſharpeſt of all ſpies, thoſe who were looking after their own intereſt.

Nothing, therefore, would have been ſo fooliſh or unnatural in a princeſs who had ambition, who knew her dignity and ſupported it well, though not by ſtiffneſs and etiquette, as to have riſked all, and run ſo headlong into a ſcene of diſgrace and humiliation, as nothing could be more impoſſible than to eſcape diſcovery and the fatal conſequences.

Scandal, ſupported by envy and ſelf-intereſt, firſt robbed the queen of France of her reputation, and they were facilitated in their enterpriſe by the levity of the age, and by the high rank and proſperity of their victim. A cruel reverſe, and the unexampled fortitude, temper, and patience, with which ſhe bore it, have however proved,

* It is a great reproach to many gentlemen who were protected by this amiable queen, to have permitted ſuſpicions to be whiſpered that diſgraced ſo generous a friend.

that ſhe was an affectionate wife, a tender mother, and a princeſs who knew, on all occaſions, how to ſupport her own dignity better than how to puniſh her enemies.*

In aiding to defend a character which has been ſo unwarrantably traduced, it would be injuſtice to herſelf and the world not to add, that though blameleſs as to the things of which ſhe was accuſed, ſhe was not ſo with regard to her expenſes; they were great and without arrangement; ſhe was generous often without judgment, and her conduct was by no means a model to be held out for princes, whoſe real glory is in alleviating the burdens of their people, in rendering nations rich and eaſy, and not in taking upon themſelves to diſtinguiſh individuals, and enrich them at the expenſe of the whole.†

This

* To all theſe ought to be added, that if there had been any guilt, her enemies would have found the means of bringing it home on the trial; they had the inclination, and they could not want the means; but this is ſo evident a vindication, ariſing from the trial itſelf, that it is not neceſſary to inſiſt upon it: that the queen was innocent is clear—the above vindication is meant to ſhew *how ſhe was ſuppoſed to be guilty.*

† There is here a ſtriking reſemblance between the conduct of princes and of democratic leaders, although they are in their effects diametrically oppoſite. Princes take upon themſelves to *ſuſpect* certain people of having more merit than others, they make favourites of them, and tax the nation to enrich them.

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This unfortunate queen is a terrible example to princes, who feeling themſelves generouſly diſpoſed, turn the feelings of a good heart from their country and exert them upon individuals. Ingratitude from many individuals, and vengeance from her ſubjects, were the conſequences of this conduct; let it, therefore, be a leſſon to princes, and let it alſo be a leſſon to people; let princes form wiſe rules for their conduct, and let people without either anger or ill-humour fix rules for princes; let there be grandeur of conduct on both ſides, let them be great in their generoſity; but let it have fixed bounds which it cannot paſs.

There are many things that might be ſaid to excuſe the queen of France for thoſe errors and expenſes into which ſhe run; her youth, her inexperience, her being a *ſtranger*, and not knowing the conſequences of what ſhe was about; but, above all, the intrigues and extravagancies with

Democrats take upon themſelves to ſuſpect certain perſons of crimes, and of turning their puniſhment to the advantage of the nation, confiſcate their property. In the one caſe, part of the property of the nation is *confiſcated* to enrich an individual, choſen by caprice for the purpoſe; in the other, individual property is confiſcated to enrich the nation. The one is wrong, the other is abominable; and in each caſe it is the ruler gratifying his own feelings at the expenſe of juſtice. Surely thoſe Jacobins who cry out againſt princes will be ſatisfied with this note. This hiſtory is not written to flatter any party, but with a deſign to ſhew things as they are.

which, at her firſt arrival, ſhe found herſelf ſurrounded, are the principal circumſtances that tend to diminiſh the fault, but nothing can take it entirely away. She was too expenſive, and thoſe expenſes haſtened the cruel revolution which awaited herſelf, her family, and her kingdom.

When the people had been for the ſecond time gratified with the ſight of expiring royalty, they were conſidered by Robeſpierre and his friends as being prepared for the exhibition intended of the Briſſotines. The accuſations brought againſt this party were juſt as void of foundation as thoſe brought againſt the queen, but as the philoſophers fell a ſacrifice to their own principles, and to their own practices, they do not require our pity; they perſiſted juſt as obſtinately in the principles that brought themſelves to the guillotine as their enemies did, but then they did not intend that they ſhould have had ſuch conſequences with reſpect to themſelves.*

The trial of Briſſot, and twenty-one of his companions, could not have ended in condemnation

* Certainly, according to republican principles, and even according to thoſe of liberty and equality, Briſſot's party did not merit death; as, however, by all other principles they had merited it an hundred times, their death was a victory to thoſe who wiſh to ſee order eſtabliſhed in France; it was the firſt great ſtep towards the purging their miſerable country of thoſe men who had ruined it.

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to death, according to the laws of the men who judged them, but the method practiſed every day againſt the innocent perſons who were brought to be ſummarily judged by this tribunal were employed againſt them * alſo.

The firſt ſtep was for the violent Jacobins and members of the club of the Cordeliers to extort from the convention a decree, which abridged, as they termed it, thoſe forms *which enchained the the conſciences of jurymen and ſtifled conviction.* It was decreed, that the jury might ſhorten the proceedings and refuſe to hear witneſſes, by declaring to the judges "that their opinion is formed."

* By way of ridicule, Briſſot was placed on an elevated ſeat during the trial, with all his partiſans around him; he appeared pretty collected and tranquil. The preſident of the tribunal, in order to ſecond the clubiſts who petitioned the convention to ſhorten the proceedings, wrote, that nothing could equal the loquacity of the accuſed, that the trial had laſted five days, and that only nine witneſſes had been heard; that there was no reaſon why there might not be 400 witneſſes brought forward, and that therefore there was little hopes of finiſhing.

Engliſhmen, contraſt this conduct with that of your judges and juries in criminal caſes, and you will at leaſt ſuſpend experiments of reform, till you ſee how a nation, once in the convulſions that a revolution brings on, may get rid of them. If civil cauſes in England were tried with as much regard to juſtice as criminal cauſes are, we ſhould then indeed be a happy people. This merits inveſtigation, and demands it.

By this means, ſay they, you may for the future elude the queſtion of forms.

When this decree for eluding forms was paſſed, the mob carried it to the tribunal, and the obedient jury declared the proceſs was at an end, and condemned to death Briſſot, Vergniaud, Genſonè, Duprat, Valazé,* Lehardy, Ducos, Boyer Fonfrede, Boileau, Gardien, Duchatel, Sillery, Fouchet,† Duperry, La Source, Carra, Beauvais, Mainvielle, Antiboul, Vigée, and Lacaſe, as authors and accomplices of a conſpiracy which exiſted againſt the unity and indiviſibility of the republic, againſt the liberty and ſafety of the French people. Their property to be confiſcated to the republic, and the execution to take place, &c.

The day after, the 31ſt of October, the execution took place, with the unuſual ceremony of

* Valazé cut his throat in priſon; he had been an officer in the regiment of French guards, and aided the revolt at the beginning of the revolution.

† Fouchet was an abbé before the revolution and became a biſhop; he opened *a hall for political lectures* in the beginning of the revolution; and to excite the people againſt ariſtocrats, he ſaid, that it was the ariſtocracy of the Jews that condemned Jeſus Chriſt. Clootz turned the tables againſt him at laſt, and ſaid, that Jeſus Chriſt was an ariſtocrat, for he ordered to render unto Cæſar what was Cæſar's, and ſpoke of lords and maſters; this, ſaid the Pruſſian philoſopher, is againſt liberty and equality.

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the diſcharge of artillery.* The people, who uſually attend ſuch ceremonies, were uncommonly gay and pleaſed when they ſaw ſo many of the repreſentatives mount the ſcaffold; and in this, if they ſhewed no humanity, they ſhewed at leaſt that ſome idea of juſtice ſtill remained.

It was during the detention of thoſe deputies that Marat was aſſaſſinated by a moſt extraordinary woman, who appears to have imagined, that that monſter was the only one in the convention. Charlotte Cordé will ever be eſteemed for her heroiſm and fortitude, but it will always be lamented, that a woman of ſuch courage and good intention, ſhould be led to commit aſſaſſination; and that by the eternal harangues made in favour of

* The condemned deputies cried *Vive la republique!* when they were on the ſcaffold. Briſſot preſerved his uſual *ſang froid*, and remained ſilent; he was guillotined laſt of all.--- Thirty-ſeven minutes were only neceſſary for the execution.

The ruling party in France has uniformly purſued one method with accuſed perſons; they are always encouraged with hopes of life till the moment ſentence is going to be paſſed, and after that they are never allowed to ſpeak. This rule was never more uſeful than on the preſent occaſion; otherwiſe, the loquacity of the condemned might have produced ſome diſcoveries not much to the advantage of their accuſers.

When Danton and his party were guillotined in their turn the year after, they were condemned at three o'clock in the afternoon, and at ſix the ſame evening mounted the ſcaffold.--- From ancient companions this treatment was a little hard.

Brutus,* and particularly by the man whom ſhe aſſaſſinated.

The fall of Briſſot's party diſconcerted the Jacobins in all other countries. A ſimilarity of views had connected ſeveral of thoſe leaders with *the patriots* of other nations, ſome of whom boaſted of a perſonal acquaintance with Briſſot, and all of whom conſidered him as a model for a revolutionary leader. So cruel a fate excited great uneaſineſs among them. The revolution was now begun to devour its own children; it had long ago put to flight its fathers, and from the national convention to the fartheſt corners of Europe, revolutioniſts inquired with eagerneſs *when this butchery of the deputies would end?*† In France they butchered thoſe who aſked the queſtion, and who explained themſelves, that it was not from any anxiety about the deputies, but becauſe it would be an amuſement to the ariſtocrats, that they wiſhed the butchering to ceaſe. The amuſe-

* Mirabeau was the firſt who was called the French Brutus; ſince his time many Brutus's have appeared. We have ſeen fathers demanding the condemnation of their ſons for ſinging royaliſt ſongs, by way of imitating the Romans. This cannot be attributed to any thing but that derangement of intellects called fanaticiſm.

† A plot was contrived in conſequence of this queſtion having been aſked, and ſeveral deputies, Merlin, Chabot, and Bazire, amongſt others, were guillotined for this childiſh but anti-civic anxiety.

ment of the ariſtocrats, however, was a lame excuſe, for every day ſaw them mount by dozens the ſcaffold, and they had ſtill more reaſon to weep for the loſs of friends, than to laugh at the deſtruction of their enemies.

About this time there were above ſix thouſand priſoners in the priſons at Paris, and the other jails of the kingdom were proportionably full. The total number of perſons confined in France was eſtimated at above two hundred thouſand, of which number were the richeſt bankers, merchants, and manufacturers.

Equality was the end propoſed, but an agrarian law could not ſuit a corrupted people; it was thought much better to attack fortunes individually, by accuſing the poſſeſſors, and confiſcating the property; this was done in all the great towns in the kingdom. But as the acts of injuſtice and cruelty became ſo multiplied over the whole face of the country, it is impoſſible to give any ſort of form or order to the detail of what was going on; the reader is therefore referred to note of detached facts at the end [*Note* Q.] of the work, where it will be ſeen in what a ſummary manner people were arreſted, judged, and executed.

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The life of a man was now no longer conſidered as of any importance, and therefore guilt or innocence was ſcarcely inquired into. All thoſe who had no protectors in the Jacobin clubs were liable to fall, and thoſe who had any enemies in them were certain of their fate.

Moſt part of people who had any property, had ſome good-natured friends amongſt the Jacobins, who wiſhed to eaſe them of it; and as all confiſcated property was put up to ſale, and ſold upon very eaſy terms, the way to become a man's heir was to accuſe him, and have him guillotined. The only limit ſet to this practice was, the fear of *becoming a proprietor*, which could not fail to bring on the ſame fate ſooner or later, ſo that the danger of poſſeſſing property was now the only thing that afforded any protection to the proprietor.*

With reſpect to the cultivators of land in France, they were forced to work, but they were alſo forced to give up the fruits of their labour at a fixed price paid in aſſignats, and then they were put upon an allowance of ſo much bread for each perſon every decade (or ten days.) The ſlaves in the Weſt India colonies enjoy more liberty than thoſe poor peaſants, who were obliged to call

* It is difficult to conceive this *maximum* of wretchedneſs; proprietors, in France, were ſituated like a dog with a ſilver collar in one of the bye ſtreets of St. Giles's,

out

out *vive la liberté*, in the midſt of their miſery, and a murmur againſt their rulers was ſufficient to have them dragged from their families, and thrown into priſon, and probably led to the guillotine.

To add to all theſe misfortunes, bread and nouriſhment were almoſt wanting. Paris was the beſt ſupplied, and there were but one hundred and ſixty cattle ſlaughtered every week. There were almoſt as many men ſlaughtered as there were oxen!!

The Jacobin club continued to dictate to the aſſembly, and the aſſembly continued to ſpread terror and deſolation through France. That terrible period was now arrived when the hiſtory of the republic offered nothing but a daily repetition of robbery and murder, and when robbery and murder were ſcarcely any longer objects of hatred or of terror. The ſpectators had long been dead to the feelings of humanity on thoſe occaſions; they were now dead to every other feeling, and to every emotion. Not a day paſſed that the bloody tribunal did not ſend victims to the ſcaffold, and the populace went to look on as an affair of habitude, and as a method of paſſing time. Even the unfortunate ſufferers ſeemed to have loſt their feelings, and a few excepted, neither fear nor grief was to be perceived on their countenances.

Not

Not an hour paſt that injuſtices were not committed, that would raiſe general indignation in any other country in Europe, and afford matter of diſcuſſion for months, and perhaps for years. The names of the moſt part of the victims in France were forgotten in leſs than half an hour, and their crimes were never inquired into at all.

A few exceptions, however, are to be made to this general uniformity. The Duke of Orleans, long ſo active and ſo powerful, was brought to Paris from Marſeilles, where he had been impriſoned in conſequence of a decree for impriſoning all the princes of the houſe of Bourbon. Neither the name of Egalité, by which, at his own requeſt, Manuel had chriſtened him, nor his formal declaration, that he was the ſon of a coachman, and therefore not of the royal blood; not even his voting for the death of the king could ſkreen him from the vengeance of Hebert and Danton. He was accuſed of being the accomplice of Briſſot's party; this was ſufficient to condemn him before the revolutionary tribunal, he was guillotined the ſame day, and died with more fortitude than thoſe who knew his cowardice on many different occaſions expected.* The leſſon

* The Duke of Orleans was a coward from calculation, rather than from nature. When there was any mode of eſcaping, or when he had an alternative, he never riſked himſelf. The ſecrets

leſſon which the fate of this prince gives to men, who, in a high rank of life, diſturb the peace of their country from motives of ambition or of vengeance, is written in ſuch legible characters, that it requires no commentary. In his ſhort paſſage from the priſon to the ſcaffold, he was inſulted by the ſame ſcoundrels whom he had formerly paid; and the general contempt into which he had fallen, was evident in the countenances of all the ſpectators.

To the Duke of Orleans ſucceeded M. Bailly, the former mayor of Paris, and Manuel and Barnave. The rulers of the preſent time, ſeemed determined to deſtroy all thoſe who had ever enjoyed any degree of popular favour. The deaths of Manuel and Barnave could be regretted by none; that of M. Bailly was different, he had been the cauſe of much evil, but he was ignorant of

ſecrets of which he was maſter, induced his enemies to keep him in hopes till the laſt. When he arrived in Paris from Marſeilles, he was actually perſuaded that he was to be again re-inſtated in his palace. As ſoon as the ſentence was paſſed, the execution was haſtened, and the firſt prince of the blood went thither in a cart, accompanied by a ſtock-broker, an under delegate of a department, and a journeyman ſlater!! This was at leaſt that equality which he had ſo long pretended to ſeek after!!

Among the crowd was one of the duke's agents, well known in the firſt two years of the revolution, St. Huruge. This fellow was, it is ſaid, particularly vociferous in inſulting the duke.

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the great extent of the evil of which he had laid the foundation.* A good deal is to be attributed

* M. Bailly, of whom much has already been ſaid, becauſe he was one of the firſt who protected inſurrection, and brought it into vogue, was eſteemed before the revolution for ſeveral publications, particularly his *Lettrès ſur l'Atlantide et l'Hiſtoire de l'Aſtronomie*. The ſudden elevation of Bailly to the place of preſident of the aſſembly, and after that to the mayoralty, had a great effect upon literary men, not only in France, but all over Europe. A revolution ſeemed to be the triumph of genius, and above all of literary merit. His puniſhment operated likewiſe upon the minds of people in different countries; if the virtue, the good fortune, and the talents of Bailly, could not ſave him from the ſcaffold, ſaid they, it would have been better for him to have continued to live quietly on his penſion of ten thouſand livres a year, and not revolt againſt the king who gave it him. It would, indeed, have been better. M. Bailly was dragged to puniſhment with particular marks of infamy, becauſe he was condemned for having aſſaſſinated the people in the Champ de Mars. It would ſeem that ſome particular infatuation prevented ſuch men from quitting France, where their ſyſtem of government was juſt as much out of date as that of Louis the Fourteenth. The fate of M. de Clermonte Tonnerre on the 10th of Auguſt, and of all the conſtitutionaliſts, whom their enemies could lay hold of, might have ſerved as a warning to him, that nothing was to be expected but death, if he remained; the Jacobin ſyſtem had perpetually been to turn with implacable vengeance againſt thoſe who had once been popular, but were not ready to follow them in all their extremes. This plan had been regularly followed from the beginning, and his not having ſeen that, ſhews that M. Bailly was by no means, in political affairs, a man of profound knowledge; on the contrary, he ſeems not to have at all conceived the progreſſive motion from bad to worſe, and from the Capitol to the Tarpeian rock.

to his vanity and ambition, but more to his ignorance. Though a man of learning and of ſcience, he was totally unſkilled in the art of leading men to happineſs; he had fallen into all the miſtakes to which the declaration of rights leads, and his errors might have been forgiven, had he not been ſelfiſh and ungrateful.

On the ſame day that this ancient magiſtrate, aſtronomer, and member of the academy, was ſuffering for his having become a politician, a fête was celebrated in the cathedral of Paris, to the honour of reaſon, virtue, and philoſophy. At this fête Hebert preſided, and the biſhop of Paris officiated to the ſans culottes at Paris, in the midſt of a ſcene of licentiouſneſs and ridicule.* The intention was to baniſh religion from France entirely; as that had been very nearly accompliſhed already, the ſubſtitution of what they

* At Lyons, the *feaſt of the aſs* merits notice for its ſingularity, all the conſtituted authorities, the revolutionary tribunal, and the guards, aſſembled at the Hotel de Ville with an aſs. Commiſſaries were ſent to ſeize the plate in all the churches; the poor animal was then dreſſed in a biſhop's robes, with a mitre on his head, and a bible attached to its tail; the ſacred vaſes, &c. were put on its back, and followed by a proceſſion of the club, the municipality, &c. it was then marched to the Place de Bellecour, where it was burnt, along with the bibles, prayer books, robes, &c. with this inſcription, remains of ſuperſtition; the whole attendants calling out, *vive les ſans culottes.*

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called reaſon was thought neceſſary, that on the decades people might have ſomething to do, and not fall back through idleneſs into their ancient errors.

Amongſt the ſufferers by the guillotine, the generals of the republic made a very conſpicuous figure. Even Houchard, who commanded at Dunkirk, when the Engliſh under the Duke of York were repulſed, was obliged to lay his head upon the block. As to thoſe who had not been ſucceſsful, it was perfectly natural that they ſhould be executed, and accordingly very few of them eſcaped.

Robeſpierre did not, however, yet reign alone, and what is more, was not the moſt ſanguinary of thoſe who did reign. Hebert, and ſome of his companions were worſe ſtill, and Robeſpierre was frequently obliged to interfere to prevent their cruelties from going too far.* Robeſpierre was the

* Hebert had repeatedly demanded the death of the remains of the unfortunate royal family, and declared himſelf incapable of containing his rage when he ſaw the ſiſter of Louis Capet (the virtuous Madame Elizabeth) in exiſtence, after ſo many crimes. Her features, ſaid he, are a picture of her atrocious heart. Robeſpierre had treated Hebert as a fool; but a man who was capable of ſuch IMPRUDENT denunciation, was not fit for an aſſociate, and he was dangerous as a rival. Robeſpierre could ſcarcely expect that his own phyſiognomy would be ſafe from the attacks

the moſt methodically and unfeelingly cruel, but he does not ſeem to have been cruel from enjoyment in the ſlaughter of his fellow men, but from ſyſtem.* Hebert, Petion, Manuel, and many others, ſeem to have enjoyed cruel actions, and committed many merely for the ſake of the pleaſure, which their diabolical minds received; but † Robeſpierre did never give any ſigns of ſuch a diſpoſition; cool, intereſted cruelties ſeem to have been what he excelled in; he would have ſacrificed three-fourths of the human race to have reigned

tacks of this inconceivable diſciple of Lavater, and, accordingly, as ſoon as he found himſelf attacked by him, his vengeance was prompt and ſevere. Hebert had been the principal cauſe of the death of Bailly, and the other friends of the conſtitution.

* In the back ground all this time was the Abbé Seyeyes, he was one ſtep beyond Robeſpierre in cold, ſyſtematic cruelty, and one ſtep farther removed than him from the other party in perſonal vengeances, and cruelty in detail. One might be apt to attribute to principle, and not to ſelfiſh motives, this *abſtract ſort of cruelty* of the Abbé Seyeyes, were it not that the man who has always lent his aid in council to the uſurper of the day, muſt be very ſelfiſh, and equally void of all principle.

† The manner in which Petion and Manuel tormented the king, when that unfortunate monarch was priſoner in the temple, is a proof of their cruelty in detail. The manner in which the whole of the royal priſoners were treated, was only equalled by the particular inſtances of cruel mortification, which, when either of thoſe two went to the priſon, the king and queen were certain to experience. Charles the Firſt never experienced any thing harſh or hard, in compariſon to what Louis the Sixteenth ſuffered.

over thoſe who remained, but it would not have given him any pleaſure to aſſiſt at their execution.

The cool, calculating murderer is, however, the moſt terrible of all,* when he has it in his power, and finds

* It was by this cool method of propoſing aſſaſſination, that Robeſpierre was enabled to follow out his cruel plans with order and method. The others went without order, and ſometimes ceaſed their crimes for a moment, but Robeſpierre brought it to that pitch, that *every day innocent blood was ſhed as certainly as the ſun roſe.* There was no method of eluding perſecution and death under the reign of a man who had vowed the deſtruction of all his enemies, of all his rivals, and of all thoſe whoſe reputation or property gave them any ſhare of importance. This man had thouſands of agents, and the tribunals were always ready to execute what he ordered. This has been fully proved ſince, for as each faction falls to the ground, its crimes are brought to light.

Although the revolutionary tribunal did not acquire all its activity in Paris till the time Robeſpierre reigned *alone in Paris*; yet it is to be conſidered, that as the other towns in the kingdom had not the ſame means of reſiſting oppreſſion that the capital had, an inferior degree of power was ſufficient for oppreſſing them; beſides, Robeſpierre and the Jacobin club acted together, ſo that any reſiſtance from the departments was impoſſible to be attended with ſucceſs. In Paris, on the contrary, the Jacobin club had ſome rivals in the other ſocieties, and of conſequence its power was not abſolutely without limit. It is here neceſſary to obſerve once for all, that though thoſe fraternal ſocieties or clubs differed in their names from the Jacobins, as each had its orators and favourites, yet the whole of them were nearly the ſame as to revolutionary and ſanguinary principles. With reſpect

finds it his intereſt to be cruel; for as he does not even take the pains to think what it coſts humanity to gratify his views, he does upon the great ſcale what others do on the ſmall. It was the organization of the ſyſtem of terror by Robeſpierre, that gave Collot d'Herbois the means of maſſacring the inhabitants of Lyons with grape ſhot;* that gave le Bon, the national commiſſary, the means of exerciſing unheard-of cruelties in the north of France, and Talien at Bourdeaux. It was to the ſyſtematic cruelty of Robeſpierre that

reſpect to the world at large, they were all Jacobins alike; with reſpect to their favourites alone were they different, and this difference was only perceivable to the people in Paris.

* Collot d'Herbois, and d'Orfuil, two indifferent comedians, who had the management of the affairs at Lyons, put to death three thouſand priſoners with grape ſhot. They were all put into one large ſquare, all the avenues were ſhut up, and then the cannons began to play upon the miſerable victims. Many were only wounded, becauſe when once they fell from any ſevere wound, they ſeldom were again ſtruck by the ſhot; theſe were, after languiſhing, put to death by pikes and the bayonet. Many were thrown into the Rhone half dead, and carried off by that river.

An affectionate wife who implored mercy for her huſband, was chained to the guillotine while he was executed.

Le Bon has been, ſince he was commiſſary in the north, and ſince the death of Robeſpierre, denounced for numerous acts of wanton cruelty. As for thoſe of Carrier, at Nantes, they were ſo enormous, and proved in ſo diſtinct and ſatisfactory a manner, that they merit particular notice, and are to be found in the tranſactions after the death of Robeſpierre, when the change of men and meaſures led to their diſcovery.

the exceſſes of Carrier, the execrable Carrier, at Nantes were owing, when men, women, and children were drowned in boats without reſpect to age or ſex, or guilt or innocence.

The ſyſtem of terror was ſupported by ſwarms of commiſſaries and agents, with unlimited powers, who went through the whole of France;* their great buſineſs was, to find out the ſuſpected perſons and the ariſtocrats; to find out where any treaſure was concealed; to bring accuſations againſt people who were rich; to enforce the law that fixed the price of proviſions; and to procure recruits for the army, horſes, carriages, and grain.

* Beſides the clubs which were ſo numerous, and which were centers of re-union every where for the robbers, there were eſtimated to have been above fifty thouſand agents of one ſort or another, going about like roaring lions, ſeeking whom they might devour. Barrere complained in the convention, that beſides theſe regular and good agents, there were men in red bonnets, with pantaloons and long ſabres, who collected the taxes, and put the money received in their pockets. He ſuppoſed theſe tax gatherers to be Hebertiſts; but let them be of what ſect they might, it is pretty clear, that the frogs and locuſts ſent amongſt the Egyptians were not near ſo terrible, and they could not be much more numerous than the patriotic banditti who deſolated France. Theſe latter filled every place, the frogs and locuſts could do no more, and they could neither burn, raviſh, nor aſſaſſinate.

The

The revolutionary army,* clothed in black, faced with red, was intended to enforce obedience if it was wanted; but ſo great was the diſmay which thoſe rigorous meaſures had occaſioned, that force was not neceſſary, a few ſoldiers, who were at the command of the commiſſaries, were ſufficient to exact the moſt abſolute obedience in the hardeſt of caſes.

If grain was wanted, and the farmer refuſed to deliver it, he was ſhot at his own door.† Were the

* Robeſpierre diſbanded the revolutionary army as ſoon as he got fairly the victory over Hebert, but his real motive for doing ſo does not appear very evident. It ſeems to have been through ſome ſecret fear of his enemies having more intereſt with the generals of that army than he had himſelf, otherwiſe it was an excellent inſtitution for the ſupport of the revolutionary government. Had Robeſpierre kept this army at his command, and in his intereſt, it would have been more difficult for his enemies to get the better of him than it afterwards was; but Robeſpierre probably conſidered that this army received its orders from the committee of public ſafety, and that as he was not certain of always reigning there, it would be better to truſt to the Jacobin club alone for power and protection.

† An agrarian law would not have been half ſo unjuſt as this mode of taking the grain. The one only divides the ſoil, the other divides its produce, and of conſequence robs the labourer of what ariſes from the ſweat of his brows. The mode of puniſhment was, they allowed, rather ſevere, but it was *neceſſary, it was revolutionary* (they ſhould have ſaid revolting.)

the ſons demanded for the army, and the affectionate father heſitated, the whole family was dragged away or maſſacred, without form of proceſs or delay, and the neighbours durſt not venture even to look on, much leſs to ſhew ſigns of grief.

The miſeries of the people were not a little augmented by numbers of falſe commiſſaries, who committed the ſame exceſſes as the true; and as nobody dared aſk a commiſſary to ſhew his powers, thoſe vexations went on almoſt always without either diſcovery or puniſhment; it was

Theſe expeditions to compel the peaſants to give up their grain and their children, were always attended with pillage, and whenever it ſuited them, with raviſhment and murder. Imagine a detachment of this army arriving in a village, and placing a centinel at the door of the houſe they were employed in ſearching, with a bloody flag flying. Imagine all the neighbours ſhutting their doors, and trembling till their turn ſhould arrive, while the father, mother, and children were ſuffering thoſe cruel vexations of which we have ſpoken, without daring either to reſiſt or cry out, which even if they did, it was to no purpoſe, and was certain to finiſh with the maſſacre of the whole. Blind ſubmiſſion alone ſkreened the inhabitants from the laſt of the exceſſes, for wherever there was the leaſt heſitation or murmur, all pity and reſpect was at an end.

By this time there was no poſſibility of putting a ſtop to oppreſſion, it aroſe from ſo many different cauſes, and its agents were ſo numerous, ſo deſperate, and ſo impoſſible to be traced out, that there was nothing to be done but to wait for ſome of thoſe movements in the capital, which, whatever its nature might be, would regulate the whole of the republic.

only

only when the true commiſſaries and the falſe met on the ſame ſpot, that either took place, for the inhabitants trembled at the name, and durſt never make an inquiry.

The cries of liberty and equality never abated in the midſt of all this miſery, where it might truly be ſaid, that there was not a man in France who did not riſe in the morning under the painful ſenſation of vengeance to fear, or vengeance to gratify, and frequently of both.*

Robeſpierre, during this progreſs towards the maximum of human woe, fell ill, and Hebert, who was the orator and oracle of the club of the Cordeliers, took advantage of his abſence from the Jacobin club and the national convention; a new revolution was threatened, and at firſt the advantage ſeemed to be in favour of Hebert, but it only ſeemed to be ſo, for though the club of the Cordeliers was more violent than that of the Jacobins, and even ſurpaſſed it in atrocity and extravagance, yet it did not poſſeſs the great au-

* Since the fall of Robeſpierre, thoſe perſons who acted with him, or under him, have thought proper to throw upon him and his party all the odium of theſe meaſures, and to attribute to him all the miſery which followed; but it is to be hoped, that nobody will give them credit for one moment for ſuch an aſſertion.

thority which the affiliations gave the latter all over France.* The club of the Cordeliers was very well for Paris, but the Jacobin club was for the whole of France, and Robeſpierre was triumphant.

The battle of ſavage beaſts in the Arena is intereſting only becauſe it is a diſplay of fury and force. That of Hebert and Robeſpierre is not ſ on any other account; the fate of both muſt be indifferent, yet curioſity is excited when two ſuch enemies of the human race give a little repoſe to mankind by turning their efforts againſt each other.

* We have already obſerved, that the club of the Cordeliers had propoſed to have a legion of twelve hundred king-killers regularly trained, and bound by an oath to extirpate the race of monarchs. This plan only wanted one thing, like Collot's project for blowing up the priſoners in Lyons---it wanted bold executioners. As to the ſimilarity of ſtile and ſentiment with the Jacobins, we may cite the ſpeech ſo much applauded in that latter ſociety made by Robeſpierre's brother. "I am not," ſaid "he, a lover of human fleſh, yet I would willingly eat a pye made "of all the kings in Europe." It was a wonder that he did not prove by that ſpecies of logic, ſo much in vogue, that kings were monſters, and not men, and that therefore this would not be eating human fleſh. The boaſted conſtitution was founded on arguments little better than this, and it is certain the French people would have adopted the idea with admiration and enthuſiaſm.

Hebert

Hebert was procureur of the municipality,* and as ſuch could reckon upon its ſupport. Robeſpierre was the chief of the committee of public ſafety, in which ſeveral members ſeemed to favour the Cordeliers. This gave Hebert courage, and on the ſecond of March he began his attack by denouncing Robeſpierre.

The committee of public ſafety had arreſted a favourite member of the club of the Cordeliers. It was determined to demand his liberty: a black crape was thrown over the buſt of Marat, as a ſign that the *friends of the people deplored the fate of the people.* Carrier mounted the tribune of the club and ſaid, "Cordeliers, you want to compoſe a *Journal Maratiſt* (after the manner of Marat) I applaud your deſign, but that will be only a feeble defence againſt thoſe who wiſh to kill the republic; *inſurrection, holy inſurrection, that is what you ought to oppoſe to wicked people.*"† La Fayette, the father of inſurrection,

* The municipality had undergone many revolutions ſince the 10th of Auguſt; one ſet of vagabonds had made place for another. But in all theſe there was only a renewal of crimes, accuſations, and vengeances; ſo that they have been paſt over. Beſides, it is now become impoſſible, as well as uſeleſs, to attempt following out the confuſion of men and things that was in Paris; the main outline only can be drawn, and even that but imperfectly.

† It is very ſurpriſing that Carrier ſhould have outlived the fall of Hebert after ſuch a ſpeech; and it is equally ſurpriſing that

tion, could not have ſpoken more to the purpoſe, nor with more effect, for Hebert followed, and with general approbation repeated the demand for *a holy inſurrection*. Theſe changes, but ſtill more the enthuſiaſm they occaſioned, made the committee of public ſafety, and even the Jacobin club, ſtagger for a moment; but the victory was not of long duration; and as ſoon as the party of Robeſpierre ſaw their ſuperiority, a report was made in the name of the committee of public ſafety, the concluſion of which was, that Hebert and his accomplices ought to be arreſted; it was done accordingly on the 14th of the month.

This was the moſt remarkable and the moſt vigorous combat that had yet taken place between two clubs. This was a proof that CLUBS AND INSURRECTION were juſt as neceſſary for ſupporting deſpotiſm, as they were for reſiſting government. This is preciſely what we have found the revolution proving all along; and upon this inſtance we find it confirmed in the moſt decided and unequivocal manner.

The different popular ſocieties, or clubs, of Paris had come to join that of the Cordeliers, on the day that the members had been arreſted.

that the advocates of the French conſtitution ſhould cry out againſt the anarchiſts, conſidering *the purity of their principles and their attachment to the main article of the rights of man.*

This

This formidable junction prevented the conſtituted authorities of Paris from taking any decided part by congratulating the aſſembly, as wastheir uſual practice when vigorous meaſures were taken, and when thoſe vigorous meaſures ended in victory. Cuthon, the intimate aſſociate of Robeſpierre, and who afterwards mounted the ſcaffold with him, made on the 18th a ſpeech to the convention, in which he declared his aſtoniſhment that the municipality and the revolutionary army, ſo ready on other occaſions to congratulate the aſſembly, now remained ſilent.* A decree was then paſſed empowering the committees of public ſafety and of general ſecurity to examine the conduct of the conſtituted authorities in Paris, amongſt whom were many traitors. This had the deſired effect; and the next day the municipality of Paris ſent to felicitate the aſſembly on its courage, and make excuſes for having been ſo ſlow in its congratulations. The committee of public ſafety immediately named Cellier and Legrand,

* The victory of Robeſpierre on this occaſion ſeems to have been occaſioned by this ſpeech of Cuthon, which, by putting his enemies in fear, made them come over to his ſide. It was the neglect of following the advice of this ſame Cuthon that brought Robeſpierre's party to the guillotine in their turn a few months after. All this ſhews that vigour and activity (and no half meaſures) are the means to diſconcert thoſe who want to rebell. Rebels are often cowards, and factious men always are; ſo that their occaſional courage is exactly meaſured by the idea they have of their force.

two of its partiſans, to fill the places of Hebert and Chaumet at the municipality. This bound the members of the municipality to the ſide of Robeſpierre, and his triumph was now certain. So true is it that, in caſes of revolt, ſtrength finiſhes by being on the ſide where it is ſuppoſed to lay. The municipality no ſooner thought by the boldneſs of Cuthon, that it was on the weaker ſide, than it actually, by transferring its power to the other party, decided the victory.

Boldneſs and promptitude, it would ſeem, are the chief qualifications neceſſary to a leader of revolutions; we ſhall ſee this exemplified ſtill more in the triumph of the enemies of Robeſpierre a few months afterwards, when that ſame municipality, that now joined him through a conviction that he was ſtronger than his enemies, by endeavouring to ſupport him on the ſame idea, drew down a very heavy vengeance on itſelf.

During this interval, the convention, or rather the ruling party, ſhewed its power, and gratified the people by putting to death a number of perſons, amongſt whom were ſeveral of its own members.

Whilſt the conſtituted authorities congratulated the aſſembly for the victory of Robeſpierre,

the revolutionary army, which Cuthon had likewiſe accuſed, ſent a deputation to congratulate the Jacobin club. It was propoſed by a member of the club that the revolutionary army ſhould take an oath never to obey any other but the committee of public ſafety and the national aſſembly. This was done with enthuſiaſm and unanimity; and Robeſpierre declared from the tribune of the club a moment after, that the conduct of the revolutionary army was above all praiſe.*

To this ſucceeded a plan for an addreſs to all the clubs in the kingdom on the new conſpiracy, which had been diſcovered and ſtifled; but Collot d'Herbois, who now joined Robeſpierre with warmth, though he had kept aloof till the victory was declared, objected to the addreſs as not being ſufficiently vigorous; accordingly he wrote another, and preſented it, which other was adopted.

The next operation was, to purge the club and the miniſtry of the friends and adherents of He-

* The orator of the revolutionary army addreſſed the club thus: "Citizens, you ſee before you brave republicans, ſincere "friends of their country, and who will always be worthy of the "name they bear. You ſee before you thoſe whom calumny "had pointed out as your executioners, but never ſhould we "have conſented to ſuch a crime. Thoſe who could have had "the baſeneſs to propoſe to us ſuch a crime, would themſelves "have fallen under our indignation."

bert.

bert. But the triumph did not end here; the conquered club of the Cordeliers came by deputation to congratulate the Jacobin club on the victory it had obtained over themſelves, alledging that they had been miſled. The Jacobin club, in the pride of victory, refuſed to admit this deputation, or to have any connection with the Cordeliers, until they were purified, by ſtriking off from the liſt of members all thoſe who were of the party of Hebert. This humiliating condition was complied with, and the enemies of Robeſpierre were proſcribed every where. From this time the club of King-Killers, which had been preſided by the patriot Marat in its better days, and which had always been the moſt violent in its patriotiſm, ſunk into inſignificance.

The accuſation againſt the party of Hebert was now brought regularly forward; it included many of the perſonal enemies of Robeſpierre, and is a very curious relict of Jacobin deſpotiſm.* Had Hebert triumphed, the ſame charges would have been brought againſt Robeſpierre, and the public would have applauded in the ſame manner as it did in the preſent caſe.

* Hebert, Clootz, and Kok a Dutch banker, with ſeventeen other perſons, one of whom was a woman, were comprehended in the ſame accuſation; but, as they were only known for their ſanguinary projects, and thoſe were now become ſo common as ſcarcely to attract the attention of the people on the ſpot for more than a few hours, it is not worth while to repeat them.

The

The accuſation was to this purpoſe, that the accuſed were the agents of the coaleſced enemies of France; that they had endeavoured to ſtarve the nation, and to degrade the convention; that they had endeavoured to re-eſtabliſh monarchy;* and that the moment for ſeizing all power, and employing it in this atrocious manner, was nearly arrived, when luckily it had been diſcovered.

With reſpect to the proceedings of the tribunal, they deſerve no particular notice; to be accuſed and condemned was all the ſame thing.

The whole of theſe violent enemies of government and of religion were conducted to the ſcaffold on the 29th of the month, amidſt the hiſſes, the reproaches, and evident marks of joy from the people.†

Hebert

* It ſeems a little ſingular that Hebert, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on all occaſions againſt the royal family, who had fabricated the infamous accuſation againſt the queen, and who was preſident of the club which, above all others, had railed violently againſt kings, ſhould be charged with being the agent of the coaleſced powers. This ſhews, that now either very little attention was paid to the opinion of the people, or experience had taught their leaders to think that they were ſo confuſed, or ſo credulous, that any thing would be believed. Hebert, it will be recollected, was judge at the Hotel de la Force, and delivered over Madame de Lamballe, and the other priſoners, to the aſſaſſins.

† Anacharſis Clootz, who had figured ſo often as the orator of the human race, ſaid, he would appeal to all his conſtituents for

Hebert was inſulted more than the others, and all the groſs witticiſms, with which he uſed to load his enemies, or with which he generally inſulted the unfortunate, were applied to himſelf. This monſter, one of the greateſt which the revolution had produced, ended his career like a coward along with nineteen perſons, all of them deſerving of death, but, certainly, not all accomplices in the ſame project, as ſome of them were at that time enemies.

This is a ſecond victory gained over the enemies of the human race, in that miſerable country where crimes and puniſhments were multiplied to a degree of which there never has been, and, it is to be hoped, never will again be an example.

The revolution had now accelerated its courſe, like a comet when it approaches the ſun, and events ſucceeded each other with an amazing rapidity. The execrable party of Hebert was executed only on the 29th, after a ſtruggle of a few weeks, and Danton, Camille de Moulins, la Croix, and Philipeux, were arreſted early on the morning of the 31ſt, as accuſed of having conſpired with d'Orleans, Dumourier, and Fabre

for his innocence. The portion of his conſtituents who were preſent were diverted with that idea.

d'Eglan-

d'Eglantine, in order to re-eſtabliſh royalty, and deſtroy the republic.* In this charge were included many more perſons, and in the puniſhment, more ſtill---Herault, Bazire, Fabre d'Eglantine, a Spaniſh banker named Guſman, the Abbé d'Eſpagnac, General Weſterman, Chabot, and his two brothers.†

This party did not make the uſual ſort of ſtruggle for victory; others, as we have ſeen, reſiſted before their arreſtation, but not after. Danton, and his companions were taken ſuddenly and unexpectedly, they therefore could not reſiſt; but when before the tribunal, they were as loquacious as Briſſot's party, and much more reſolute.

To get rid of the arguments which they produced, and which puzzled the judges, and of the

* When Camille de Moulins was interrogated as to his age, he anſwered, "The ſame at which the ſans culotte Jeſus died, "thirty-three years." Danton, when queſtioned as to his abode, anſwered, "My reſidence is a non-entity, and my name "will no longer exiſt but in the pantheon of hiſtory." Danton treated the judges with great contempt, and threw balls of bread at the face of the preſident. The criminals, judges, jury, and ſpectators ſeemed rather to be acting a farce than any thing elſe; all was uproar, and a ſort of ſavage merriment during the time the priſoners were at the bar.

† We ſpeak in England of a *batch of peers*. This ſeems not to be much amiſs as a batch of ſcoundrels. But it is very difficult to conceive how they could be all jumbled together in one accuſation.

inſults which offended them, a decree was ſolicited from the convention, declaring the accuſed refractory, and ordering that refractory people ſhould be condemned without being heard. While the decree was getting ready, Danton and companions were perſuaded to retire for refreſhment into an adjoining room, and they were not allowed to re-enter the court, till the decree was arrived. This finiſhed the buſineſs; they were condemned without any more form or ceremony,* dragging along with them a number of perſons detained in the priſons, who were ſuſpected, as it was pretended, of intending to reſcue the criminals.

During this violent conflict amongſt the leaders, France looked on peaceably, and the army was quite paſſive. As ſoon, however, as victory was declared, all the conſtituted authorities, the clubs, the municipalities, the departments, and the commanders in the kingdom, joined in addreſſes of congratulation, and in enthuſiaſtic expreſſions of approbation.

Robeſpierre, at the head of the committee of public ſafety, of the Jacobin club, and of the

* Even with ſuch men as Danton this mockery of judgment is revolting. The ſudden arreſtation of Danton was thought to be owing to a declaration made by Hebert, not of any intentions of Danton's party againſt Robeſpierre, but of Robeſpierre againſt Danton.

municipality of Paris, was now a deſpot ſingle and alone. Thoſe who ſaw him only from a diſtance, conceived that he was one of thoſe great men who can controul events, and domineer over fortune: thoſe who approached him nearer, knew well that his ſucceſs was owing to circumſtances, more than to his own abilities; but all joined in fearing, deteſting, and in granting a ſervile obedience to his deſpotic will.

CHAP. XIII.

General view of the ſituation of France with regard to its enemies—Aſſignats—Conduct of the coaleſced powers—New method of attacking by maſſes of undiſciplined troops—Energy of the Jacobins, and their efforts in England and America—Retreat of the combined forces—Robeſpierre reigns alone—Bloody decrees and perpetual maſſacres—Madame Elizabeth, all the farmers general, and ancient judges condemned—Jacobin deſpotiſm come to its laſt pitch of horror—Robeſpierre begins to decline—His enemies venture to accuſe him.—The tyrant loſes himſelf; he heſitates and delays—His fall, and that of the violent party.

DURING the different conteſts amongſt the parties at Paris, the revolutionary meaſures for recruiting the army had produced an immenſe CROWD of ſoldiers. It had been decreed that the nation was to riſe in a maſs. This decree at firſt ſeemed ridiculous, but its effects were frightful. The method of repulſing their enemies from the lines of Wiſſembourg, which had perfectly ſucceeded, inſpired the committee that conducted the war, with an idea of carrying it on in a manner hitherto unheard of.

The lines of Wiſſembourg, defended by excellent ſoldiers, might be attacked, but could not be forced by any multitude of raw men, whatever their number might be, until the veterans were worn out with fatigue. Orders were received from Paris to attack theſe lines day after day, and new levies were made to ſupply the place of thoſe who were killed on the French ſide. What was propoſed ſucceeded; the lines were abandoned after a defence renewed every day with great vigour and bravery, during three weeks; freſh enemies were always oppoſed, and the ſecret of the method of making numbers triumph over diſcipline was diſcovered.

It is to this diſcovery on the ſide of the French, and the want of any meaſures to counteract its conſequences on the part of the allies, that the misfortunes that ſo ſoon after took place, are to be principally attributed.

The retreat from before Dunkirk, with a great loſs to the army commanded by the Duke of York, had given courage to the French army in the north, which had been much diſcouraged by the precipitate retreat made by Dumourier, the battle of Famars, and the taking of Valenciennes. The republican armies in the ſouth had retaken Toulon, and kept Spain at bay. The great numbers of troops ſent againſt the royaliſts in the Vendee,

in conſequence of the imprudent conduct of England, had effectually checked that alarming revolt. In Italy and in Savoy head had been made againſt the combined efforts; ſo that, before the winter had fairly ſet in, the convention ſaw its armies triumphant in ſome parts, and in all out of immediate danger.

The great diſcovery made at the lines of Wiſſembourg was, however, the moſt important victory. It gave a hint for a plan which the ſtate of France and its deſpotic government, as well as its poſition, and the nature of the people, rendered very practicable.

The deſpotiſm of government furniſhed the convention with the means of forcing the peaſantry to the army, and their own miſery inclined many to prefer arms and bread to oppreſſion and ſtarvation. The law of the maximum, the aſſignats, and the guillotine, furniſhed horſes and proviſions for the army, and means of paying the ſoldiers. The decay of all trade and commerce left plenty of people idle to make arms and accoutrements; ſo that, though France could not find either good ſoldiers, nor good equipage, ſhe could raiſe them quickly, and in great numbers. This was preciſely what was wanting to put in practice the new mode of attack determined upon.

The

The revolutionary government and the law of the maximum had deranged every calculation that had been made at the beginning of the war, with reſpect to the force and reſources of France; and it is not to be wondered at if nobody was able to foreſee the effects of two meaſures, which were totally new in their nature, the like of which never had been ſeen, and the poſſibility of which had never been thought of.*

Without theſe two meaſures the army could neither have been recruited nor ſupplied, but with them, the laſt man in the country able to fight, and the laſt ſack of corn to eat, was at the command of the convention.

The coaleſced powers, during this time, made no attempts to rival the convention in ingenuity, though the horror of its crimes ought not to have inſpired them with any contempt for their ge-

* The depreciation of aſſignats went on in a rapid career, and very nearly as had been calculated, until the revolutionary government, by putting people's lives in queſtion on all occaſions, put diſputes about the value of property out of the queſtion.

The error of thoſe who counted upon the ruin of aſſignats, from the great increaſe of their quantity, and the weakneſs that would ſoon follow in the French government, was only, therefore, occaſioned by the unforeſeen event of a new ſpecies of tyranny. This is farther proved by the rapid depreciation of aſſignats ſince the government became leſs violent.

nius, and for the reſources which were at their command.

The convention had organiſed maſſacre, but it had gone further to encourage diſcovery in ſuch arts as it had uſe for, than any government that ever exiſted. Men of merit were not guillotined, they were flattered and rewarded, and every new hint, every new idea, was received with thanks; moſt of them were put to the trial, and whatever was found deſerving was adopted.

France, during the ancient government, was a nurſery for ſcience, and above all for military ſcience. There were vaſt numbers of men of merit, who had formerly been neglected, who now ſtarted forth to notice; not as the political firebrands ſtarted up in the clubs, but as men of knowledge and genius always will when left at liberty, and when they meet with encouragement.

A man who would have been obliged to dance attendance half his life-time after the miniſter of war, or of the marine, only to receive the honour of an audience, where he was more likely to be treated with contempt, than to be encouraged, could now make himſelf certain of a candid hearing, and a fair trial, and the vices of a government which produced ſuch advantages he very naturally overlooked and became zealous in the cauſe.

Hiſtory ought not to be written with an intention to lead men into errors, but to *teach them by example*; therefore, from the ſame principle that we blame the conduct of thoſe who have covered a miſerable country with blood, we muſt praiſe the means which they took to defend themſelves and their cauſe againſt their enemies; we moſt decidedly blame them and their cauſe, but when that is done, we muſt not refuſe them thoſe qualities of another ſort, with which their blameable actions were accompanied.

On the ſide of the allies we have ſeen no exertion, except according to the common routine of making war; millions of money, and thouſands of lives have been ſacrificed to no purpoſe, becauſe they would not condeſcend to look at their enemies, and ſee with what ſort of arms they fought.

An indifferent ſpectator, if ſuch a one there can be in the preſent conteſt, would think that, when the greateſt nations in Europe joined to protect themſelves from a ſpecies of anarchy that menaced them all with ruin, they would have laid aſide every conſideration but that of ſelf-preſervation; and that when they condeſcended to fight with the armies of the convention, they might have condeſcended to ſtudy the means by which they might be the moſt eaſily reſiſted.

It

It would have been very natural for the combined powers, after experiencing the unfortunate end of the campaign of 1793, to have ſtudied, though late, the beſt way of re-commencing the operations in the ſpring with a probability of ſucceſs; and, in order to begin, they ſhould have conſidered the new method of attack, which the French had with ſucceſs adopted.

The French had called their government republican, and European ſtateſmen calculated upon the want of energy that republics diſplay; but when France had transformed itſelf into the moſt deſpotic of governments, that calculation could no longer hold good, and ſhould have been abandoned.

The convention did not let its interior diviſions derange the military operations. The committee which directed the plans of the campaign was directed by old experienced military men, who had nothing to do with the different parties, and who were protected by all of them. Thoſe men ſpared neither pains nor expenſe to enſure their undertakings ſucceſs, and intrigue was added to military ſkill. Commiſſaries were diſpatched in a myſterious manner to Mayence and Frankfort, in order to give ſome appearances of a treaty being on foot with the King of Pruſſia. This puzzled and perplexed the different cabi-

nets,

nets, and augmented that miſtruſt, which is generally the ruin of armed coalitions. The king likewiſe, who on his part wanted to be well paid for his ſervices by the other powers, acted as myſteriouſly as the commiſſaries, and England and Holland were induced to give him a large ſum, on condition of his keeping up the army which he had on the banks of the Rhine. The uncertainty of the event of this negotiation, till the campaign was ready to open, prevented thoſe plans of operations from being laid, that were ſo neceſſary.

Meaſures were taken and means were employed on the ſide of the French, for a vigorous and offenſive campaign; and, on the ſide of the allies, meaſures were not thought of, and means were wanting.

A ſpirit of diſcontent reigned amongſt the officers of the allied armies. The greater number of the Auſtrian officers had not taſted repoſe ſince the beginning of the war with the Turks in 1788.* The Engliſh officers who had come over only for glory, not finding that glory ſo likely to be acquired ſince the affair of Dunkirk, and deſpiſing the Dutch troops with whom they had come to

* Nations ſeem to get tired of war in about ſeven years. If there is any rule for eſtimating ſuch a thing: few wars end much ſooner, or continue much longer. It is well known, that when both parties are tired, they give over.

act, were discontented, and wished to return to England. Though this never hindered the English and Austrians from behaving bravely in the field of battle, it damped the operations, and prevented that cordiality, that alacrity, and exertion, which were so necessary.

The states of Brabant, too, had many pretended grievances against the house of Austria; the wounds received during the last revolt were not yet healed, and though they saw the plundering disposition of the enemy they had to deal with, no cordial support was given to the Emperor; and certainly if the reign of liberty, equality, and assignats, is established amongst them, they may blame themselves for it, and not the Emperor, who personally is as irreproachable as any of the coalesced powers.

The French began by paying spies and informers at an immoderate rate, and the coalesced powers refused to pay any thing that was worth while for the ingenuity and risk of a spy, nevertheless the campaign opened very brilliantly for the combined powers in Flanders. The superiority of discipline and courage over masses of peasants was never more conspicuous, but the military committee at Paris had expected this, and was not discouraged.

The

The fate of the lines of Wiſſembourg put them perfectly at their eaſe, but as long as they acted on the defenſive, that plan could not be adopted.

The order therefore arrived for General Pichegrue to penetrate into Weſt Flanders, and leave the victorious army of the Emperor to the right; this ſucceeded, and the allied armies were obliged to ſeparate, to prevent the French from getting poſſeſſion of that rich country, and all their ſtores, which were at Oſtend, Ghent, and Tournay, as well as to prevent them from falling upon their rear, which might happen, if no efforts were made to drive them back.

Menin and Courtray were taken, and Liſle ſerved as a ſupport for the French army. Great courage was diſplayed by the Auſtrians and the Engliſh, and it is only doing juſtice to the Emperor and the Duke of York to ſay, that no two commanders ever ſhewed greater courage; and in the unfortunate affair between Courtray and Liſle, few generals ever conducted themſelves better than his Royal Highneſs; but the race was not now for the ſwift, nor the battle for the ſtrong, the inceſſant and unremitting efforts of a maſs that augmented every day, proved victorious.

General

General Clairfayt behaved with equal conduct and bravery; and with a very ſmall army diſputed the poſſeſſion of Weſt Flanders, inch by inch for fifteen days running; but the fate of General Wurmſer at the lines of Wiſſembourg attended him, and it was found in vain to remain, a good retreat was all that remained for him to attempt, and this he certainly accompliſhed.

It was well enough known before the campaign opened, that the finances of the Emperor were exhauſted; the payments made to thoſe who furniſhed his armies, ſhewed this. A loan, ſimilar to that which has ſince taken place, was propoſed in England, but why it was not then adopted, it is difficult to conceive; or if it was for good reaſons refuſed then, why it ſhould be adopted now, is ſtill more difficult to conjecture. The diſappointment of this aſſiſtance in money, added to an invidious kind of an idea circulated by French emiſſaries amongſt the Auſtrian officers, that England, which had got the Weſt India iſlands, was alone likely to profit by the war, and Auſtria alone likely to ſuffer, completed a miſunderſtanding already begun.* The

* The decree of the convention, ordering no quarter to be given to Engliſh and Hanoverian ſoldiers, increaſed the diſlike of the ſoldiers of the Auſtrian and Britiſh armies; it was conſidered by the former as a token of eſteem and regard, and by the latter it was thought to denote an unfair intention of leaving them in the lurch.

fate

fate of the campaign was now determined, the allies had nothing for it ſince they had ſeparated, but retreat, and accordingly each army began in its own way to march off.

But though the places of Weſt Flanders were falling into the hands of the French every day, Charleroi, which is on the direct road from the French frontier to Bruſſels, oppoſed a vigorous reſiſtance. General Beaulieu, on the banks of the Sambre, had repulſed the enemy repeatedly, but the fate of Wurmſer attended him alſo. Charleroi was repeatedly relieved, once by the Emperor in perſon, and the Hereditary Prince of Orange diſplayed before it equal conduct and bravery; but all this ſignified nothing, the French maſs flying from famine and the guillotine, came on, and Charleroi, after being nearly demoliſhed, was obliged to ſurrender.* Bruſſels then fell a ſecond time

* The armies having once ſeparated and abandoned the frontier towns, it was not poſſible to make any ſtand, until they had traverſed the country, and come to another chain of fortifications; but though any ſerious ſtand was impoſſible, there does not appear to have been any occaſion for the precipitancy, the confuſion, and the want of order with which the retreat was made. It was a retreat of regular and well-diſciplined troops, with generals regularly bred, who fled before a maſs of peaſants, without diſcipline, and headed by men of yeſterday; yet the order and regularity was all on the ſide of the undiſciplined peaſants, for the regular troops were in great confuſion. The reaſon was certainly

time into the hands of the French, and the combined armies formed a chain of poſts from Maeſtricht and Aix-la-Chapelle to the borders of Holland.

The Duke of York made an appearance of a ſtand at Antwerp, where he had taken a poſition behind the river Scheldt, but the certainty of being attacked day after day, till his army ſhould be fatigued and diminiſhed, made it prudent to retire without being attacked at all.

Thus was the ſingle diſcovery of a new plan of attack, productive of the moſt complete train of victory ever witneſſed, and where numbers triumphed over bravery, and the diſcipline and tactics of war, ſuch as they have been practiſed in Europe ſince the invention of fire-arms.

With regard to the manner of the retreat, and ſome of the miſtakes committed in it, we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

As the French armies advanced in one of the moſt fertile countries in the world, they ex-

certainly that the former followed a plan, and the latter were guided by no plan, and neither had reſolution to make a ſtand, nor prudence to ſend off their magazines and ſtores before them; ſometimes they had the appearance of intending to retreat no farther, and every thing remained for a few days ſtationary, then all at once they ſet off and left part of their ſtores behind them.

changed

changed their aſſignats for every ſort of neceſſaries, and the whole of the money ſpent during thirteen months by the allied armies, with a great part of their ſtores remaining on hand, fell into the poſſeſſion of the conquerors.

One of the moſt ſurpriſing things in all this was, to ſee old experienced generals, when reduced to the neceſſity of abandoning that country, do it without taking any of the precautions that are ſo neceſſary. There was no plan, no ſyſtem in their retreat, while the army of ſans culottes turned every thing to their profit, with as much ſyſtem and regularity as if they had been accuſtomed to conqueſt during a century.

Had the French armies been obliged to abandon Flanders and Brabant, they would ſtill have been immenſe gainers by the conqueſt and momentary poſſeſſion of it, for every thing was immediately and regularly put in requiſition for aſſignats, a part was ſent to France immediately, and the reſt was all ready to be ſent upon the ſhorteſt notice.*

Whilſt

* Perhaps activity, energy, and combination of invaders, never gained a greater victory over the oppoſite qualities in thoſe who abandoned a country, than on this occaſion. The tarifs of merchandizes of all kinds, at the price of the maximum, were circulated and proclaimed every where; ſoldiers were ſupplied with aſſignats to purchaſe what they wanted, but robbery and

Whilſt theſe things were going on upon the continent, the factious democrats of England * having got the better of the fear which the puniſhment of ſome of the members of the pretended Scotch convention had inſpired, began again to arrange their plans of attack upon the Engliſh conſtitution.

The correſponding ſocieties, or affiliated clubs, redoubled their activity, and things were going on ſo as to have procured, in time, all the advantages of liberty and equality, ſuch as we have ſeen them eſtabliſhed in France. Luckily, however, miniſters were ſtill upon their guard, and the plans in agitation were diſcovered before they were quite ready to be executed. The miniſtry, by a laudable ſtretch of power, arreſted a number

pillage were puniſhed with death, without the leaſt mercy. By this the ſoldiers were ſupplied with every thing at no expenſe; the army might be ſaid to exiſt by pillage and robbery, yet the ſmalleſt act of theft was puniſhed with death. Our armies, on their retreat, paid for every thing they wanted in hard caſh, and at a high price, and yet on account of a few irregularities, were accuſed of pillage, while the invaders were praiſed for their diſcipline. This requires and deſerves a longer inveſtigation than we can with propriety give it here.

* This name may appear hard, but we muſt confeſs, after following French democrats, firſt through their reforms, and then through their maſſacres, it is not eaſy to pardon thoſe who would riſk beginning the ſame ſyſtem in England.

of

of perſons concerned, and obtained a ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus act, which is the guardian of the rights of citizens in ordinary times, but the ſuſpenſion of which is neceſſary for the ſafety of the nation in times of public danger.

The freedom of a nation is, to a certain degree, the enemy of its ſafety; but as it is abſolutely neceſſary to give to every body politic a means of protecting itſelf,* the Engliſh patriots of the laſt century, with much leſs metaphyſical whim than the conſtituent aſſembly in France, but with more attention to the real welfare of the nation, were not afraid of entruſting poſterity with a power of preſerving the conſtitution in caſes of danger, by making it lawful for the three powers of, king, lords, and commons, to ſuſpend a law, which, while it is a ſecurity for the good citizen, is alſo a protection for the bad. Where men are governed by written law, it is always poſſible to ſtir up diſcontent without incurring any pains or penalties, becauſe the letter of the law is obliged to attach itſelf to open acts. Now open acts, of a ſeditious nature, are not always neceſſary to excite diſcontent, and bring on inſurrection. The advocates of the democratic ſide ſay, why do not

* For a fair and plain examination of this, ſee an anonymous publication, *Scylla more dangerous than Charibdis*, publiſhed by Mr. Stockdale, a few months before the act was ſuſpended.

miniſters wait for open acts? They might as well aſk, why does not the traveller wait till the robber has diſcharged his piſtol.

The ſuſpenſion of this act was evidently neceſſary, for though the individuals apprehended had not committed any actions that ſeemed to a jury to come under the deſcription of *treaſon*, for which they were indicted; yet their trial proved evidently that affiliated clubs were eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of affecting a reform, which affiliation being a new invention, there did not exiſt any law for puniſhing it.

The acquittal of the men who were tried, juſt depended upon this circumſtance of the law not having foreſeen the ſpecies of tranſactions of which they were guilty, and of conſequence not having determined the puniſhment which they were to draw down.

The ſucceſs of the French arms, as we have ſeen, was owing to the diſcovery of a new mode of conquering good and regularly diſciplined armies, by attacking them day after day without intermiſſion, by bodies of freſh troops: the combined armies were defeated becauſe they had not diſcovered a method of reſiſting this ſort of attack. The conſtitution of England was in danger, and ſtill is in danger, of ſinking under the CO-OPERATIONS

TIONS OF AFFILIATED CLUBS, and that danger will not ceaſe until laws are made to prevent ſuch co-operations.*

Confederates, affiliated, have ruled over France, and we ſee to what they have reduced it; and until the laws of England have extended their dominion to this new ſpecies of attack upon the peace of men, there will be no ſecurity. Confederates will aſſemble for purpoſes that ſeem to be praiſeworthy, and when once properly eſtabliſhed, they will do what they pleaſe.

Fable was invented, in order to convince men by a ſhorter mode than argument, and by a mode that made a deeper impreſſion upon the mind. Hiſtory has, however, a double advantage, when attended to it leads us to unerring concluſions, without having recourſe to long arguments; and it is impoſſible in the preſent caſe not to ſee that the affiliated clubs, or correſponding ſocieties, were

* A work is in forwardneſs upon this ſubject, recommending to the legiſlature of England, to paſs an act, making it a crime for ſelf-elected ſocieties to enter into combinations upon political reforms. The baſis of which work is, that ſuch combinations give a ſmall minority of perſons ſo connected, an undue influence in the nation, and that a great majority, *unaffiliated*, may be domineered over by an inconſiderable number of *affiliated confederates*; and that therefore, though the object in view may itſelf be lawful, and even meritorious, this mode of attaining it is dangerous and unconſtitutional.

the firſt cauſes, as well as the ſupporters of the unexampled crimes and miſeries of France.

Weapons of offence have always been invented before weapons of defence. Swords and ſpears were known before ſhields and helmets. Gunpowder was invented before Demoivre and Vauban altered and perfectioned the art of fortification; but it muſt be allowed, that during theſe intervals, there muſt have been conſiderable danger to the human race. Revolutions muſt at ſuch times have been very eaſy, if the method of attack had been brought to any conſiderable degree of perfection, before the mode of defending was known.

The Jacobins met with no phyſical difficulties, ſuch as the inventors of cannon had to ſtruggle with, the phyſical difficulties were all overcome by the invention of printing and poſt roads, ſo that the affiliation of clubs was realized almoſt in an inſtant. The danger that mankind runs from this invention is great, till a remedy is found out; and as a proof, we refer to the hiſtory of the revolution of France.

The Engliſh government, whilſt it acted with becoming ſeverity towards thoſe who wiſhed to ſtir up diſſenſion, has by no means acted wiſely with reſpect to the principles which thoſe men profeſſed.

profeſſed. We have already obſerved, that perſecution, in caſes of opinion, produces obſtinacy, and not conviction; and it is very certain, that if affiliations continue to be permitted, they will end in being victorious; they will end in making the people think themſelves oppreſſed; miniſters ſhould employ the powers now in their hands, not to reſiſt wiſe reforms, but to prevent men from demanding wiſe reforms, in a manner inimical to the conſtitution, and to the intereſt of the majority. It would be as well to ſee the Houſe of Commons reformed by a regiment of mutinous ſoldiers, with arms in their hands, as to ſee it reformed by an affiliated minority of the nation.

The juſtice of the reform, and the manner of attempting it, ought not to be confounded; but as miniſters have gone to work, they are confounded together, and will continue to be ſo; and if England ſhould ever have the misfortune to have the confidence of their king given to miniſters who approve of *affiliated confederacies*, a revolution will be operated immediately. The puniſhment of a few individuals will not avert the danger, and it is below the rulers of a nation to employ that power in ſearching to puniſh a crime which might be employed to prevent it.

The United States of America have not been free from the ſame attempts of affiliated clubs; rebellion actually broke out at their inſtigation,* and

* The following teſtimony of Mr. David Oſgood, M. A. an American clergyman, proves, that America has been in danger from clubs, and that a *free republic* is no more ſecure againſt their manœuvres than a free kingdom.

" On the ſame principles with thoſe in France are founded " the democratic ſocieties in this country; and ſhould they be- " come numerous here, as they are there, they will infallibly " have a ſimilar effect. Their pretence is, to watch govern- " ment—they mean the fœderal government. But this, like " each of the ſtate governments, is choſen by the nation at " large; and, of courſe, every man in his individual capacity " has an equal right and an equal intereſt in watching its mea- " ſures. What preſumption then is it, and what an uſurpation " of the rights of their brethren, for private aſſociations, un- " authoriſed by the laws, to arrogate this charge to themſelves? " Admitting the propriety of ſetting a watch upon congreſs " and the preſident, are not the ſtate legiſlatures fully com- " petent to the buſineſs? Is not their intereſt at ſtake, and " their jealouſy always awake, ready to notice any fault or er- " ror in the general government? What then is there for theſe " private aſſociations to do? Good they cannot do; and if they " do any thing, it muſt be evil.

" Their meetings are ſo many collections of combuſtibles; " and ſhould they be generally extended, the whole country " will be in a flame. The members of thoſe ſocieties, by vir- " tue of this relation, neceſſarily become the mere tools and " dupes of their artful leaders, who have their own ends to " ſerve by all their profeſſions of patriotiſm. 'The moment " a man is attached to a club, his mind is not free; he receives " a bias from the opinions of the party: a queſtion indifferent " to *him*, is no longer indifferent, when it materially affects a

" *brother*

and certainly it was not becauſe the Americans are not free that ſuch a revolt took place, and ſuch manœuvres, but it was becauſe the diſturbers of

" *brother* of the ſociety. He is not left to act for himſelf; he " is bound in honour to take part with the ſociety—his pride " and his prejudices, if at war with his opinion, will commonly " obtain the victory; and rather than incur the ridicule or cen- " ſure of his aſſociates, he will countenance their meaſures, at " all hazards; and thus an *independent freeman* is converted " into a mere walking machine, a convenient *engine of party* " *leaders.*' In this way a few ambitious individuals are enabled " to extend their influence; and as they riſe in power and con- " ſequence, to infringe upon the liberty of the public.

" Each individual member of the ſtate ſhould have an *equal* " voice in elections; but the individuals of a club have more " than an equal voice, becauſe they have the benefit of another " influence, that of extenſive *private attachments*, which come " in aid of each man's political opinion. And juſt in pro- " portion as the members of a club have an undue ſhare of " influence, in that proportion they abridge the rights of their " fellow citizens. Every club, therefore, formed for political " purpoſes, is an *ariſtocracy* eſtabliſhed over their brethren. It " has all the properties of an *ariſtocracy*, and all the effects of " tyranny. It is a literal truth, that the *democratic clubs* in the " United States, while running mad with the abhorrence of " ariſtocratic influence, are attempting to eſtabliſh preciſely the " ſame influence under a different name. And if any thing " will reſcue this country from the jaws of faction, it muſt be " either the good ſenſe of a great majority of Americans, " which will diſcourage private political aſſociations, and ren- " der them contemptible; or the controuling power of the " laws of the country, which, in an early ſtage, ſhall demoliſh " all ſuch inſtitutions, and ſecure to each individual, in the " great political family, *equal rights* and an *equal ſhare of in-* " *fluence* in his individual capacity."

public

public repoſe who compoſed thoſe clubs having the power to create diſturbance, never want the will, and that if there is not a Baſtile to overturn, they ſet about overturning a General Waſhington.

When Robeſpierre had got quit of his open enemies in the interior, the firſt apparent change was in the greater method in the murders committed by the revolutionary tribunal, and, of courſe, greater expedition; the next thing was the diſrepute into which the religion of reaſon, as inſtituted by Hebert, fell. Chaumet, and Gobet, the biſhop of Paris, who had contributed to that fête, were condemned for wiſhing to introduce atheiſm into France, which it was declared Pitt and Cobourg were at the bottom of, in order to animate other nations againſt the French.

The ſyſtem of terror now came to its laſt pitch of perfection; amongſt a variety of rulers who differed in opinion, if there were a number of vengeances, there were alſo ſome who were ſaved from puniſhment by favour and protection; but Robeſpierre and his terrible committee had all the ſame enemies and the ſame vengeances: accordingly St. Juſt made a report from the committee ſufficiently ſevere to gratify them. This report contained twenty-ſix different articles to the purpoſe, that all people accuſed of plotting againſt the republic, in whatever part they were,

ſhould

ſhould be brought to Paris to be tried by the revolutionary tribunal; that their accomplices ſhould be ſought after and brought to Paris likewiſe. That no foreigners nor nobles of either ſex ſhould be allowed to remain in Paris, nor in any of the frontier or maritime cities of the kingdom, from which they were to be obliged, under pain of death, to depart in three days: that all perſons who ſhall ever have been heard to ſpeak againſt the revolution, all perſons who had neither trade nor profeſſion, unleſs they were infirm or lame, ſhould be tranſported to French Guyanne: that all citizens who do not diſcover thoſe who hold incivic diſcourſe, or are guilty of other crimes, are to be conſidered as accomplices.

And, in addition to all, that the conſtituted authorities ſhould confine themſelves to doing their duty, and that they ſhould be immediately under the controul of the committee of public ſafety.

This was laying the foundation for denunciation and puniſhment, without any ſort of bounds or reſtriction.

Although the number of perſons put to death, and the obſcurity of the greater number would render it tedious and diſguſting to enter upon that detail, yet, as the three months of the reign of Robeſpierre and his committee are the only example

example of pure and uncontrouled republican tyranny, we cannot paſs over it without taking notice of a number of the victims who from circumſtances were the moſt remarkable.

On the 19th of April M. de la Borde, one of the richeſt bankers and merchants in France, and ſeventy years of age; M. de Guibeville, ancient preſident of the parliament of Paris, with his daughter and grandaughter; a director of the India Company, and counts, counteſſes, ſervants, and common workmen, about twenty more perſons were put to death.

Next day ſix ancient preſidents of the parliament of Paris, two preſidents of *la cour des aides*, and fourteen members of the parliaments of Paris, Toulouſe, and Dijon.

Each day ſaw the ſame ſcenes renewed; the virtuous M. de Malſherbes, who had defended his royal maſter, with all thoſe of his family who remained in France; the famous and once popular M. Deſprimeſnil, who firſt reſiſted the court in 1787; the Ducheſs of Grammont, the Princeſs Lubomirſka, (a Poliſh princeſs) and twenty-four other perſons, beſides thirty-five inhabitants of the city of Verdun, accuſed of favouring the Pruſſians, were, in the courſe of a few days, ſent to the guillotine.

The

The Duke de Villeroi, M. Nicolai, preſident of the grand council, M. de Croſne, the ancient lieutenant of the police of Paris, and M. Delany, civil lieutenant at the age of ſeventy-eight, with thirty-ſix more perſons of different ranks and ſex, and from eighteen to ſeventy years of age, ſuffered the ſame fate.

This was now the triumph of men who had always feared and diſobeyed the laws over thoſe who had reſpected and executed them.

All theſe bloody ſcenes were acting, whilſt the combined powers were advancing in the month of April; it was at laſt, however, impoſſible for the committee of public ſafety any longer to conceal their defeats, and accordingly Barrere mounted the tribune on the 30th of that month, and, after expatiating againſt the ariſtocrats, who exaggerated the misfortunes of the republic, he finiſhed with repreſenting them as trifling, and with a wiſh, that he had the loſs of ſome important place to announce, which, ſaid he, would waken up the nation, and make it diſplay that energy which was not to be found amongſt republicans, but when they are actuated by ſhame and revenge.*

* Barrere, in this avowal, does not do great honour to the republican character.

The

The committee acted in the manner of the cruel miniſter of ſome Aſiatic deſpot; the people were called the ſovereign, and they were treated as ſome ſovereigns are; their paſſions were flattered, and truth, when diſagreeable, ſuppreſſed. Deſertion was at this time ſo frequent amongſt the *maſs* of citizens, from the age of eighteen to twenty-five, particularly in the ſouth of France, that by a proclamation of the commiſſaries, Robeſpierre the younger, and Salicetti, all ſuch, together with thoſe who gave them ſhelter, were declared as traitors to the country: they, and their relations who gave them an aſylum, were to be delivered over to the tribunals as royaliſts, and the municipalities were ordered to make ſearch after ſuch. This meaſure ſeemed ſo excellent to the committee that ruled in Paris, that a decree was paſſed, rendering it general for the whole kingdom.

Thus, after the ſyſtem of liberty and equality had proſcribed nobles, clergymen, and rich proprietors; after it had made a number of laws, which, from their ſeverity and general ſignification, put the life of moſt of the inhabitants in danger; by one clear and poſitive law, it was made death for any young man, from the age of eighteen to twenty-five, to be ſeen in France, except in the armies.

The occaſion which Barrere had affected a few days before to ſeek ſoon arrived; on the 4th of May, he mounted the tribune, rather, however, as if he wiſhed to avoid giving the news of the taking of a city belonging to the republic. "Citizens," ſaid he, "*victory has abſented itſelf for the moment* "from the French camp, but the army of the "north will ſoon compel it to return. Landrecy "is no longer our's." Before this news was certain to the committee, added he, it was announced with a melancholy voice and dejected countenance by many perſons who are ariſtocrats in diſguiſe, and who affect to be ſorry though they inwardly rejoice. The ariſtocracy will never be corrected, it muſt be annihilated; every moment tumults are excited in the large towns by the ariſtocrats on pretext of famine; ſometimes they are directed againſt the bouchers, ſometimes againſt the bakers, and when the maſters are not excited to inſurrection, the workmen are excited againſt them for an advance of wages. All thoſe efforts are directed by traitors, againſt whom we ought to employ every exertion. To this complaint followed a decree, which put in a ſtate of requiſition all thoſe citizens who were employed in manufacturing, carrying, or ſelling objects of neceſſity. A ſecond decree followed that, ordering the public accuſer to proſecute, before the revolutionary tribunal, all thoſe who ſpread abroad

bad news, or who ſeem to have laid a plan for frightening the people.

The day following a decree was paſſed, which tended to ſend the whole band of the farmers-general to the ſcaffold. The whole were accuſed of mal-practices under the old government, and as ſuch delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal.

Whilſt Barrere was thus exerted in averting the anger of the people from the committee, by pointing out new victims, forty-eight more of the number mounted the ſcaffold, amongſt whom were the two brothers Taſſin the bankers, a rich notary, a rich ſtock broker, and many gentlemen, ſeveral of whom were above ſeventy years of age.

But the vengeance of the committee was not to be ſatisfied with ſuch victims, whilſt there remained in the priſons of the Temple the virtuous Madame Elizabeth. This princeſs, againſt whom, except Hebert and his companions, no perſon had ever ventured to utter a complaint, not that there wanted plenty who had malevolence enough, but that it was impoſſible to give any ſort of probability to accuſations brought againſt a woman, who, to benevolence and virtue, added

a de-

a degree of moderation and prudence, left no foundation for attack.

The ſame day that twenty-eight farmers-general mounted the ſcaffold, this princeſs was ſent for from the Temple, carried before the tribunal, and, without either defence or accuſation, was condemned, and immediately ſent to the place of execution.* With regard to an act of injuſtice towards an individual, this is, perhaps, during the whole of the revolution, the moſt flagrant, the moſt unprovoked, and the moſt uſeleſs.

Fifty more victims of different deſcriptions, amongſt whom were many of the very loweſt claſs of workmen and ſeveral ancient financiers and nobles, were led to execution next day, and the remainder of the farmers-general were carried off by one, two, or three at a time; even the great age of M. Mercier, who was ſeventy-eight, and whoſe mother had given ſuck to Louis XV. could not ſave him from the fate that attended his companions.

* The interrogation of this princeſs was ſtopped on her ſaying ſhe was aunt to the king: *no other* crime was attempted to be brought to her charge; ſhe was immediately ſent to the place of execution, and even the ſpectators ſeemed to be ſorry, ſo that the committee loſt rather than gained by this cruel act.

O Death! made proud by pure and princely beauty,
The earth hath got no hole to hold this deed!!!

But along with the innocent fell alſo many perſons who merited richly their fate; Jourdan, ſurnamed the cut-throat, who had preſided at the maſſacres of Avignon, now ſuffered for his crimes. Robeſpierre had new armies of cut-throats as good as this man, and his affected pre-eminence, by aſſuming to himſelf a title which belonged equally to all the miniſters of the tyrant, was of itſelf a ſufficient crime.

It would not have been at all ſurpriſing, if ſome enraged relation, or lover, or friend of one of the victims of Robeſpierre, had really aſſaſſinated him, but there was but one Charlotte Cordy in France, unleſs ſuch as exiſted in Robeſpierre's imagination. At this time, however, on the 23d of May, one Ceciſia Regnaut, daughter of a ſtationer in Paris, who ſeems to have been deranged in her mind, but without having any fixed plan, came to the door of the houſe where he lodged; her queſtions made her ſuſpected to thoſe who ſuſpected almoſt every one, and ſhe was conducted to priſon.

Whether this fooliſh girl really intended to attempt taking the life of Robeſpierre or not is of very little importance; but it ſerved as an occaſion, in conjunction with an attempt made at the ſame time to aſſaſſinate Collot d'Herbois, to prop the declining popularity of thoſe violent patriots, and

to

to renew the enthuſiaſm of the people. In the Jacobin club, Cuthon, who had overturned the Cordeliers, propoſed, *that by a ſpontaneous movement* the club ſhould ſolemnly declare, that the Britiſh government, the authors of thoſe aſſaſſinations and crimes, committed againſt the repreſentatives of the people, was guilty of *leze humanity*. All the members roſe to approve of this. Robeſpierre in perſon was preſent, and next day Barrere made a report to the aſſembly on the ſubject of the aſſaſſinations, which concluded with accuſing England of many crimes towards the republic and the neutral powers, and directed above all againſt the national repreſentatives. It was upon this occaſion that a decree was paſt, which forbid the ſoldiers of the French armies to give any quarter to Engliſh or Hanoverian priſoners.

Robeſpierre then began to ſpeak:* "It will "be a ſuperb ſubject for the contemplation of "poſterity, it is already a ſight worthy of hea-"ven and earth, to ſee the repreſentatives of the "French people placed upon an inexhauſtible "volcano of conſpiracies, with one hand lay at "the feet of the Eternal, the homage of a great "people, and with the other lance thunder "againſt the tyrants conſpired againſt them; lay

* The ſpeech of the tyrant is too long to be given complete, and too curious not to be given at all.

" the foundations of the firſt republic in the world,
" and call back amongſt mortals, exiled liberty,
" juſtice, and virtue.

" Surrounded with aſſaſſins, I have already placed
" myſelf in that new order of things where they
" wiſh to ſend me. I am no longer attached to
" life but by the love of my country, and a thirſt
" after juſtice; I find myſelf more and more
" prepared to attack with energy thoſe wicked
" perſons who conſpire againſt my country and
" the human race. The more they haſten to
" ſend me hence, the more I will exert myſelf
" to be uſeful to my fellow creatures; I will
" leave them at leaſt a teſtament that it will
" frighten tyrants and their accomplices to read.

" The deſtiny of the republic is not yet made
" ſure, the vigilance of the repreſentatives of
" the French people is more neceſſary than
" ever.

" The republic does not depend upon riches,
" nor victory, nor dominion, nor momentary
" enthuſiaſm; it depends on the wiſdom of its
" laws, but, above all, on public virtue; it is
" neceſſary to give ſtability to law, and to rege-
" nerate manners. If either of theſe fail, there
" will then only remain error, pride, paſſions,
" factions, ambition, avarice; the republic, far

" from

" from correcting ſuch vices, will give them free " ſcope, and vice leads naturally to tyranny. " Whoever is not maſter of himſelf, is made to " be the ſlave of others.* Would you know " who the ambitious are? Conſider who thoſe " are who protect rogues; who encourage thoſe " who ſeek to deſtroy the revolution—thoſe who " execute the crimes, who deſpiſe virtue, and " corrupt morals.

" Some perverſe beings have contrived to " throw the republic into a ſtate of confuſion; " we muſt extricate it, and create moral and po- " litical harmony. The French people has two " certain guarantees of that regeneration, in the " principles of its repreſentatives and its own " virtue. It is eaſy to conſolidate liberty, or " eaſy to deſtroy it. If France were governed " only for a few months by a corrupted, a miſ- " taken aſſembly, liberty would be undone. " Your unanimity and energy have aſtoniſhed " and convinced Europe; if you knew that " as well as our enemies do, you would eaſily " triumph.

" I have mentioned the virtue of the people, " and that virtue proved by the whole of the re-

* The ſtrange mixture of good and bad in the diſcourſe of democratic leaders, marks evidently a derangement of intellects.

" volution, is not ſufficient alone to defend us " againſt factions. Why ſo? becauſe there are " *two peoples* in France; the one is the maſs of " pure citizens, plain men, lovers of juſtice and " liberty.

" The *other people* is compoſed of the factious " intriguers; it is that babbling mountebank, " artificial people, which fills every place, and " abuſes every thing; which fills the tribunes, " and often diſcharges public functions. It is " that people of rogues, ſtrangers, and counter- " revolutionary hypocrites,* who place them- " ſelves between the French people and their re- " preſentatives, to deceive the one and calumniate " the other, and to counteract their operations. " As long as that impure race ſhall exiſt, the " republic will be unhappy, and its duration " precarious; it is your buſineſs to deliver it by " an awful energy, and by a determined unani- " mity. Thoſe who ſeek to divide us, and to " ſtop the progreſs of government, thoſe who cry " out every day againſt it, and who form a dan- " gerous coalition to oppoſe government, are " your enemies, and the enemies of your country;

* All theſe epithets would not have been ſufficient, without the word counter-revolution. In La Fayette's days, two thieves were murdered by the people for ſtealing ſilver ſpoons. The citizens of Paris were enraged at the mob, till they were informed that they were ariſtocratical thieves.

" they

" they are the agents of other nations, and the
" ſucceſſors of Briſſot, Hebert, and Danton.

" In ſaying ſuch things, perhaps I am ſharp-
" ening thoſe poignards which are directed
" againſt me, and it is therefore that I ſay them.
" Perſevere in your principles and in your tri-
" umphant career, you will then ſtifle crimes
" and ſave your country.——I have lived long
" enough——

" I have lived long enough, I have ſeen the
" French people riſe from the meaneſt ſlavery to
" the height of republican virtue and glory. I
" have yet ſeen a greater wonder ſtill; a prodigy
" which the corruption of monarchical govern-
" ment, and the inexperience of the firſt period
" of our revolution, made us regard as impoſ-
" ſible; an aſſembly inveſted with the power of
" the French nation, marching with a rapid and
" firm ſtep towards public happineſs, devoted to
" the cauſe of the people, and to the triumph of
" equality, worthy of giving to the world the
" ſignal of liberty, and the example of all the
" virtues.

" Finiſh, citizens, finiſh your ſublime deſ-
" tiny; you have placed us in the front to ſuſ-
" tain the firſt attack of the enemies of huma-
" nity---we merit that honour, and we will

" trace for you, with our blood, the road to im-
" mortality. May you always diſplay that unal-
" terable energy of which you ſtand in need, to
" ſtifle all the monſters of the univerſe combined
" againſt you, and at laſt enjoy the public bene-
" dictions due to your virtue."*

Such was the ſpeech of Robeſpierre, upon which the only comment neceſſary is, to contraſt it with his own actions, and with the actions of thoſe whom he celebrated as virtuous republicans.

During all theſe harangues about virtue and juſtice, and the purity of the people, and of their repreſentatives, the executions of ſuſpected perſons went on; from ten to fifteen were executed every day, and a new degree of terror, and activity of puniſhment was preparing.

Robeſpierre had now reigned ſome time alone; and what for himſelf was more dangerous, the people ſaw that he reigned alone, and his colleagues felt it, ſo that though all the ſections of Paris came to congratulate him and the aſſembly on his eſcape, his popularity was on the decline. Bourdon de l'Oiſe and Talien were the firſt who ventured to ſhew their diſcontentment openly,

* This was on the 25th of May.

and

and from the moment they did ſo, it was looked upon as certain that they muſt fall, unleſs they ſhould be lucky enough to overcome the tyrant.

The ſpeech of Robeſpierre was certainly intended to give hopes to the people, and as a threat held out to his enemies; but what were the people, were they to be catched with profeſſions of virtue and juſtice from the mouth of Robeſpierre? or his enemies, could they be intimidated, when it had ſo long been known that the leaſt ſuſpicion was ſufficient to carry his moſt intimate friend to the guillotine?

The tyrant had ſaid, his time was but ſhort, and he would employ it well, accordingly he ſet about a fête in honour of the Supreme Being, which was juſt as ridiculous as any of the other fêtes of Hebert and his aſſociates.

Robeſpierre acted as high prieſt in this ceremony, which was intended to deſtroy Atheiſm;* and

* This fête was celebrated in the garden of the Thuilleries; Robeſpierre, after preaching a ſort of ſermon, deſcended from a balcony of the palace, with a lighted flambeau, and ſet fire to a monument repreſenting Atheiſm. When this monument was reduced to aſhes, a ſtatue of Pallas, repreſenting Wiſdom, ſtarted up as by enchantment; from thence they went to the Champ de Mars, and the ceremony finiſhed with applauſe beſtowed on Robeſpierre, who had ſo domineered over the people of Paris, that printed

and which the people thought was to re-inſtate the Supreme Being in his rights, But neither farcical ceremonies, nor unmeaning phraſes, could long contain the people, who ſaw their armies triumphant in Flanders, who were therefore no longer afraid of invaſion, but who ſtill wanted bread and a change of maſters.

Two days after the fête of the Supreme Being had been given, Cuthon (on the 10th of June) came to the aſſembly, and propoſed a decree on the new organization of the revolutionary tribunal, which may be conſidered as the laſt perfection given to the ſyſtem of terror, and the maximum of human ferocity and injuſtice, and as ſuch merits being preſerved for an example to poſterity.

After three articles which regulate the form of the tribunal, a fourth article declares, that it is inſtituted for puniſhing the enemies of the people.

The enemies of the people are defined to be, all thoſe who ſearch to deſtroy liberty by force or by fraud; thoſe who ſeek to eſtabliſh royalty, or to deſtroy the convention and the revolu-

printed papers were diſtributed before the fête begun, containing a deſcription of the whole, and marking the points of his ſpeech which they were to applaud.

tionary

tionary and republican government, of which it is the center.

Thoſe who, as commanders in the armies, or in any public office, or military office, have held correſpondence with the enemies of the republic; who have laboured to promote famine, or to prevent proviſions from arriving at the armies or into Paris.

The enemies of the people are thoſe who ſecond the powers at war with France by conniving at the retreat or evaſion of conſpirators and ariſtocrats; thoſe who perſecute or calumniate patriots, who bribe members of the convention, or who find fault with the principles of the revolution, or the laws or meaſures of government, by falſe and perfidious explanations.

Thoſe who deceive the people are the enemies of the people, to lead them into errors unfavourable to liberty.

Thoſe who diſcourage the people, in order to favour the tyrants coaleſced againſt France.

Thoſe who have ſpread falſe news, to divide and trouble the people.

Thoſe

Thoſe who have ſought to lead the people into wrong opinions, and to prevent their inſtruction; to deprave and corrupt their manners and the public conſcience; to change the energy and purity of revolutionary and republican principles, or to ſtop their progreſs, either by counter-revolutionary writings, or other inſidious machinations.

The puniſhment for all crimes brought before the revolutionary tribunal is death.

The proof neceſſary for pronouncing a verdict, is every kind of document, whether material or moral, (moral documents are a new invention;) whether written or verbal, which carries naturally evidence with itſelf.

The rule of judgments is the conſcience of the jurymen; their view is to enſure the triumph of liberty; the means is ſuch proceedings as good ſenſe dictates, as being proper for determining the truth of facts.

Every citizen has a right to ſeize and carry before the magiſtrates all conſpirators, and is bound to denounce all thoſe he knows to be ſuch.

The

The convention alone can deliver over the accuſed to the revolutionary tribunal, with the exception of the committees of public ſafety, and of general ſurety, and the members of the aſſembly ſent out upon commiſſion; but the conſtituted authorities may do ſo if they have the permiſſion of the two committees.

Examination privately is ſuppreſſed.*

If there exiſts proofs, either material or moral, independent of teſtimonial proofs, *it will not be neceſſary to hear or examine witneſſes, unleſs when that* FORMALITY *is neceſſary to find out the accomplices.*

The law gives for defenders to patriots, who are accuſed, patriotic jurymen as voluntary advocates;† *it allows none for conſpirators.*

This criminal code would require no ſort of commentary, were it not that it is only putting in writing what had been the practice during the

* Under ſuch a criminal code, it would be poſſible to attack any perſon whom it might think convenient to condemn.

† *Defenſeurs officieux* — perſons, whether lawyers or not, who plead without hire, ſometimes of their own accord, ſometimes by order of the court, but by the name it was originally, probably, a voluntary ſervice.

greateſt

greateſt portion of the revolution, which an Engliſh orator declared was the moſt glorious fabric of integrity ever raiſed by man. Another Engliſh orator ſpoke of the diſtinction between *the true public and the falſe*. We ſee that Robeſpierre in his ſpeech, after the attack meditated on his life, ſpoke alſo of the *true people and the falſe*; ſo that it appears that great ſtateſmen in all countries ſtumble nearly upon the ſame ideas, and that Robeſpierre was not removed in theory ſo very widely from Engliſh patriots, as he happened to be by the circumſtances of the times and his own ſituation.

In the time of the firſt aſſembly, Robeſpierre was ſuſpected of having too much humanity; but we ſee how revolutions improve men, and develope their characters; by giving ſcope to the application of theory, we ſee how that camelion ambition, leads men to change their manner of acting.

When Cataline by rapine ſwell'd his ſtore,
And Cæſar made a noble dame a whore;
In this the luſt, in that the avarice,
Were means, not ends, ambition was the vice;
For had that Cæſar liv'd in Scipio's days,
He'd aim'd like him by chaſtity at praiſe;
Lucullus, when frugality could charm,
Had roaſted turnips at the Sabine farm.

We

We muſt never truſt much to the humanity of theoriſts, who are willing to let looſe the people for the ſake of an experiment. The alchymiſt is avaricious, but he is not economical.* A reformer, who will talk a week to ſave a ſeditious man from the gallows, would, perhaps, hazard the lives of a million of his fellow ſubjects in order to try an experiment, and when once in danger of loſing his credit by his bad ſucceſs, he would, when half his country was covered with maſſacres, and himſelf on the brink of deſtruction, invoke, even in the jaws of death, his favourite ſyſtem.

In Briſſot's time, the ſupreme court at Orleans was conſtructed nearly upon the ſame principle as the revolutionary tribunal, and Garan de Coulomb a famous philanthrope, and his intimate friend, was one of the leading members of that court. M. de Leſſart, the miniſter; La Riviere, the juſtice of the peace, and the other forty-five victims, afterwards immolated to the patriotic fury of the people, were all ſent to that court to be tried for nondeſcript crimes againſt the people; and this Briſſot was the friend, and ſome ſuppoſe, the model of patriots in England. The diſtance be-

* Is not there a great ſimilitude between the *charlatan* who duped Balbinus of his gold, in order to make him rich, and the charlatans, who enſlaved and ruined France, by way of making it free and happy? More gold, Balbinus, and more blood, Pariſians; new experiments will enſure ſucceſs; and in ſo talking, alchymiſts loſe their gold, and nations their liberty.

tween reformers in this country and in France, is not therefore ſo great in reality as it may appear to be.

It would only be a fair precaution for the nation to take, for its own ſafety, to have the French laws printed for the inſpection of lawyers and jurymen, when the trial of perſons who are *active amateurs* of French liberty, are to come on; it would form a glorious contraſt for England, and perhaps might convince the amateurs themſelves of their miſtake.

What would a learned counſellor here ſay to that article which ſets aſide evidence by witneſs where there are *moral documents?* or to that which allows defenders to patriots, but none to conſpirators? Attention being duly paid to the circumſtances, that it is not merely a matter of chance that brings men before a tribunal, and that till a defence is made, it is impoſſible, to know whether the accuſed is a patriot or a conſpirator.

The worſhip of a Supreme Being had been decreed, and it would appear that Robeſpierre, when he united in himſelf the functions of Moſes and Aaron, was determined that ſacrifices ſhould not be wanting. A new conſpiracy was diſcovered by his emiſſaries, and beſides the common victims of

the day, a number of nobles and princes were ſent to the guillotine as accomplices of the girl who was ſuſpected of an intention to murder the lawgiver and high prieſt, Robeſpierre.

The whole family of the fooliſh girl, her father, brother, uncles, aunts, all were ſent to the place of execution;* ſo that as a ſort of atonement for the deed intended, ſeventy-two victims mounted the ſcaffold, amongſt whom were twenty-one ancient judges of the parliament of Thouloufe.

To this conſpiracy ſucceeded one of another ſort. An old devotee, who had acted the propheteſs in the time of the conſtituent aſſembly, acted now the ſame ſort of farces in France, that Mr. Brothers and his friends have been employed at in England. This old girl, Miſs Theos, as Vadier declared in his accuſation, is at the head of a counter-revolutionary aſſembly; ſhe pretends to be inſpired of God, and promiſes immortality to her follow-

* It has appeared ſince by the declaration Fouquier Tinville, who was public accuſer at this time, that Robeſpierre wiſhed more people to be executed upon this occaſion, in order to give the affair greater eclat, but that he had objected to it as being too ridiculous, that it would be ſeen through by the people. The victims on this occaſion were treated with particular marks of infamy, each had on a red ſhirt in ſign of aſſaſſination. Many of them had been in priſon long before the plot againſt the tyrant had been thought of.

ers, and many of thoſe who have never done any thing for nor againſt the revolution are of the number. She ſits in an armed chair, which ſhe pretends is to be the throne of Louis XVII. The young prince has already been inaugurated in effigy. Dom. Gerle, a democrat in the beginning of the revolution, and member of the firſt aſſembly, applies the ænigmas of the apocalypſe to the events that are now paſſing, and ſwears, that the old girl is inſpired, that ſhe is a propheteſs. In ſhort, Vadier concludes with demanding, that the whole of that fanatical aſſembly ſhould be delivered up to the guillotine, and orders be given to ſearch out, arreſt, and deliver over for trial the whole of their adherents and accomplices, moſt of whom, he had already ſaid, were idle people, who had never done any thing for nor againſt the revolution.*

Day after day brought on its pretended conſpiracies and puniſhments;† the guillotine was removed to another quarter, for the ſake of the ſpectators, and orders were given to dig trenches

* What muſt Mr. Halhed, M. P. think of treating thus an old propheteſs and her adherents?

† Amongſt the victims of this period were twenty-two young girls, from ſeventeen to twenty-five years of age. Babbling againſt the revolution was their crime:

Ils avent tenu des propos contre la revolution.

out

out of the city, in order to prevent the number of the dead bodies from bringing on a diſeaſe by infecting the air.

As a ſpecimen of juſtice in civil matters which is fit to be hung up oppoſite to the decrees concerning revolutionary crimes, the following were adopted in the beginning of July, in order to prevent ariſtocratic farmers from miſapplying the grain of the republic.

1. The produce of the harveſt is put under the watch of the citizens, and confided to their care and their probity.

This firſt article is what they called the oil put upon the wedge to make it enter.

2. Grain of all ſorts is put in a ſtate of requiſition for the uſe of the armies.

3. As ſoon as the harveſt is over, an account will be made out of what it has produced.

4. Each farmer ſhall be obliged to give in a declaration of the quantity and quality of his productions, and to ſign the declaration, which is afterwards to be verified, and whatever ſhall have been concealed ſhall be confiſcated by a juſtice of the peace.

A number of other articles follow, which are only intended for aſſuring the execution of this decree.*

As tyrants are always deceived by their ſlaves, the convention, which had declared the people to be the ſovereign, dared not to confeſs the defeat of the 1ſt of June by ſea.† After delaying two weeks to give any account of that affair, Barrere began his report, by aſking with what new mark of honour they ſhould diſtinguiſh their conquering heroes, and finiſhed by proving, that the Engliſh were beat; that the French had not only got their merchant ſhips from America ſafe home, but that the French ſhips of war had been inferior in number and ſuperior in battle to the Engliſh; that a captain, who was a traitor, had indeed let the Engliſh admiral cut the line, which was unfortunate, but that the traitor would be puniſhed.

* It is to this decree that is to be attributed the great ſcarcity of corn in France ſince that time. It muſt be obſerved, at the ſame time, that though the decree was only paſſed now, it had been executed during the laſt twelve months by the ambulant commiſſaries.

† It was at this time that a conſpiracy was diſcovered at Turin, which had been ſet on foot by French emiſſaries, and which had for its object, to put the royal family into the hands of the conſpirators, and overturn the government during an inſurrection which was to have been excited. A body of French troops was to have arrived at a ſignal given; the conſpirators were to have maſſacred the royal family, and ſeize the arſenal and the citadel.

Flat-

Flattery for the people in a maſs and cruelty in detail---ſuch were the means of Robeſpierre, and in that he imitated, in part, the conduct of Louis the Fourteenth, who firſt diſcovered, that if the French were flattered, and thought themſelves the greateſt nation in Europe, they would conſent to be the moſt miſerable; not, indeed, that Louis the Fourteenth was cruel, but he was oppreſſive, and he was as much attached to his own glory as the nation was to theirs, and both king and people thought, that to diſturb their neighbours was the road to greatneſs.

Barrere knew that every thing is comparative, and to prop the falling credit of his chief, he did preciſely what Engliſh Jacobins do to make diſcontents here: he wiſhed to prove, that the French were free and Engliſh ſlaves: (our patriots here ſay the ſame thing) he knew that the two nations are in a perpetual habit of drawing compariſons, and that neither is contented but in proportion as it ſurpaſſes the other in happineſs, or liberty, or glory.

Formerly, the French were contented to be more polite, and to ſee the fine arts flouriſh more in Paris than in London, to have a more brilliant court, and to laugh at the ferocity, as they called it, of the Engliſh: but they allowed they were not ſo free as the Engliſh. Barrere, however, chuſes that they ſhall have the joy of excelling

their rivals in every thing; in giving his account of taking Oſtend, where, he ſaid, many ſhips and military ſtores had fallen into the hands of the republic, which was not quite true, becauſe they did not get one ſingle ſhip, and but few ſtores. He goes on with the following abuſe:

It is now, ſays Barrere, to the great lords of parliament in England, and the diſintereſted orators of the commons, to vote an addreſs of thanks to the paternal government of George, for the taking of Ypres and Oſtend, Mons and Charleroi. Let them not forget the battle of Fleureus, which, like that of Jemappe, has given Belgia to the victorious French.

What does that treacherous and ferocious people want? Slave at home, deſpot on the continent, and pirate at ſea! What can that people expect in return for ſo many crimes? Does it yet think to rule over the Seine and the Thames? The Engliſh monarchy, will it yet long provoke the republican indignation of France? No, you will be puniſhed *London, ſelfiſh and ſhopkeeping city*, thy lot is thrown, and thy deſtiny begins to be written on the harbour of Oſtend.

No correſponding ſociety in this country could ſpeak more degradingly of England, nor in more lofty terms of the French republicans; but ſome

of

of them have equalled Barrere, and yet the pride of Engliſhmen has not been awakened. The French formerly were diſtinguiſhed for vanity and familiarity, and the Engliſh for diſtant pride; but the latter ſeem now to have abandoned all regard for the importance and reputation of their country, for it is now a mark of patriotiſm to run it down, to ſay that it is degraded, ruined, and enſlaved. This is preciſely what M. Barrere ſays to animate his countrymen.*

But all thoſe eloquent and flattering harangues were incapable of preventing the downfall of Robeſpierre, and the ſame Barrere who made them prepared now to follow fortune and abandon his maſter. Paris had long been in miſery, and in fear of an invading enemy; it was ſtill in miſery, but no longer in fear, therefore the parties had liberty to act, and now prepared for Robeſpierre the ſame downfall which he had brought upon ſo many of his rivals.

* Several other pieces of Barrere's diſcourſe are capital in the Jacobin way. Kings, ſays Barrere, muſt ceaſe to exiſt before they ceaſe to conſpire againſt liberty; they will ceaſe to exiſt when they have no longer money, nor taxes, nor ſoldiers, nor authority; let us, then, make a war of extermination with them. Reckon that we have twelve millions of ſoldiers, and that they are all of one family; let us look with pity on thoſe thouſands of ſlaves whom the emperor ſends to the ſlaughter with ſtrokes of canes, the king of Pruſſia with ſlaps of ſabres, and whom the Duke of York makes drunk with rum and with gin, &c.

The committee of public ſafety, which governed all, but which Robeſpierre governed by means of the Jacobin club, was divided into two parties, but that of Robeſpierre's was the ſtrongeſt. Nevertheleſs, as the tyrant had of late frequently been attacked by Talien, Bourdon, and others, and as he had not been ſo much applauded lately in the club as uſual, his adherents began to calculate the poſſibility of his fall; and in this, as in all the other inſurrections, we ſhall ſee, that the party which thinks itſelf the ſtrongeſt, and is thought to be ſo, inſtantly becomes ſo.

Robeſpierre ſeems either to have been in ſome degree deranged in his mind, or to have depended ſolely on the Jacobin club for ſupport againſt his enemies; for during the latter part of the month of June, and the month of July, he ſeemed to have totally abandoned all regard for his power in the committee and his popularity in the aſſembly, and he was perpetually at the ſittings of the club, in which, however, he did not meet with the ſame applauſe as formerly.

This abſence from the committee gave the members more occaſion to differ amongſt themſelves, and thoſe who were the enemies of Robeſpierre more opportunity to cabal againſt him. The inſurrection againſt Robeſpierre was moſt probably retarded by the ſort of popularity which his

his aſſaſſination had given him, and in conſequence of the addreſſes of congratulation which were every day arriving from the clubs, now called popular ſocieties, of the provinces; which, in imitation of Barrere, threw all the blame of the meditated aſſaſſination on their two ſtalking horſes, the execrable Pitt and that vile nation of ſlaves and robbers the Engliſh. The applauſes of thoſe ſocieties were unanimous and violent in favour of the decree, which ordered that all Engliſh priſoners ſhould be put to death.

The national convention, though Robeſpierre did not now preponderate there as uſual, does not ſeem to have become more juſt; for, under the pretext that thoſe merchants, whoſe partners had emigrated, received ſums due to thoſe emigrants, it was decreed, that the partners in all ſuch houſes ſhould, in twenty-four hours, give up their books to be examined and marked by the adminiſtrators of diſtricts, and that the property belonging to thoſe who had emigrated ſhould be delivered up *under pain of death.*

A decree was made at the ſame time, which for its ſingularity deſerves mention: all directors of diligences and public carriages are ordered to give the preference for places to ſuch perſons as are ſent for to give witneſs at the revolutionary tribunal. A decree had been paſſed ſome time

time ago, which ordered thoſe perſons confined in all parts of France to be brought to Paris. If Robeſpierre excited the firſt, his enemies facilitated its execution by this decree about the diligences.

Never were the French popular ſocieties, the municipalities, and the convention, more unanimous in their enthuſiaſm and approbation of the ſyſtem of terror; never did the guillotine labour more inceſſantly to deſtroy, and at no time could it be ſaid, that the French appeared to be filled with more republican energy.

Whether it was the falſe public or the true that applauded the ſyſtem of terror muſt be left to connoiſſeurs to determine. If it was the true public, other nations cannot much admire the humanity and virtue of the French; and if it was the falſe public, the ſyſtem of liberty in France does not ſeem to have been completely eſtabliſhed; ſo that the only alternative left to us is to moderate our admiration, for if the true public in France was free, it was not humane and virtuous, and if it was humane and virtuous, it was not free.

It will, perhaps, ſtagger ſome people a little, when they find, that in leſs than a month after, thoſe ſame popular ſocieties, the ſame convention,

and the ſame committees, (about two hundred perſons excepted, who were guillotined,) applauded the overthrow of the ſyſtem of terror, and the death of Robeſpierre. So that, whether they compoſed the falſe public or the true, they were, in all changes of government, the acting public, the talking public, and the reſtleſs public.

We have already ſeen that it was the conſtant practice of the party that triumphed, to throw all the odium of the horrors committed upon thoſe who had fallen. But people in other nations ſhould not be dupes, neither of the falſity nor the vanity of the republicans. The majority of the convention, and of all thoſe who acted in France, were partiſans of the ſyſtem of terror while it laſted. Each aided with energy to execute and applaud, though by their manner of reaſoning ſince, each individual appeared as if he had acted by force: it would be difficult for them to explain how the whole number of individuals lent ſo willing a hand to force themſelves.

The enemies of Robeſpierre were deſperate becauſe they knew that he ſpared no man in his vengeance; and they were, therefore, prepared on the firſt ſignal of attack to oppoſe him with vigour.

Robe-

Robeſpierre in the Jacobin club, and Barrere in the convention, had been employed in ſtirring up the public mind againſt a new ſect of *indulgents*, by which name they thought proper to mark out their enemies.

On the 25th of July a deputation of the Jacobin club arrived at the bar of the aſſembly to denounce this new ſect, paid by foreign nations to favour criminal indulgence and degrade impartial juſtice. Dubois de Crancé, perceiving that he was attacked, defended himſelf with vigour and retorted in half accuſations complaints againſt Robeſpierre.

Next day, the 26th, the conteſt was renewed with more vigour. Robeſpierre appeared in perſon in the tribune: after many praiſes beſtowed on his own character and virtue, he accuſed the committees of public ſafety and of general ſurety, as well as the committee of finance; then he cloſed his ſpeech with a bitter complaint that the decree for putting Engliſh priſoners to death had not been obeyed by the armies.

Bourdon de l'Oiſe, who had long been a victim marked out by Robeſpierre, thought it was time to reſiſt him, and, therefore, oppoſed the printing of this diſcourſe; alledging, that though it might contain many truths, it might alſo contain

ſome

ſome falſities. Barrere voted for the impreſſion, becauſe, in a free country no truth ought to be concealed. Cuthon propoſed, that in place of refuſing its being printed, it ought to be ſent by the convention to each municipality in the kingdom.

Cambon, who belonged to the committee of finance, at the head of which he had all along been, mounted the tribune, and attacked Robeſpierre. After defending the committee of finance, he had the courage to finiſh with the declaration, that it was time to ſay all the truth; that a ſingle man paralyſed the will of the national convention; that man, ſaid he, is him who has now ſpoke---It is Robeſpierre; therefore judge.

A tyrant attacked becomes generally a coward, and Robeſpierre, equally aſtoniſhed and afraid, begun by excuſing himſelf on the ſubject of finance, in which he declared he never interfered, and that he had no inclination to attack the intentions of Cambon.

Billaud de Varennes, finding Cambon's attack had been ſucceſsful, called Robeſpierre a traitor and an impoſtor, on account of falſities contained in his diſcourſe; and finiſhed by ſaying, that "if "liberty of opinion was no longer to be enjoyed, "he would rather that his dead body ſhould ſerve

"as

"as a throne for an ambitious man, than that he "should, by his silence, become the accomplice "of his crimes."

Panis, another member, succeeded, and accused Robespierre of reigning despotically in the Jacobin club, and expelling whatever members he thought proper; that a list of proscriptions was made out by Cuthon and Robespierre, and that he was one of the proscribed. He demanded an explanation of this.

Robespierre answered evasively: "I am," said he, "an independent man in my opinions; "never will any one draw from me an involun- "tary retraction. In throwing down my shield "I have left myself open to the attacks of my "enemies. I have flattered no one, I fear no "one, and have aspersed no one. They speak "to me of Fouché; I won't occupy myself with "him; at present I set all this aside, I only listen "to my duty; I will neither receive the support "nor the friendship of any person; I don't seek "to form for myself any party. It is not, there- "fore, right to demand that I vindicate this or "that person; I have done my duty, let others "do the same."

This violent contest finished with Robespierre's discourse not being ordered to be printed, many members

members of the convention obſerving, that it was ridiculous for Robeſpierre to think that he alone was right.

From the aſſembly, where the tyrant had been defeated, he went to the Jacobin club to prepare the means of cruſhing his enemies. But the moment of his fall was approaching; for, that ſame night, in a council held in a room adjoining the Jacobin club, by Robeſpierre, Cuthon, St. Juſt, Le Bas, and Henriot the commandant of the Paris guards, it was determined to ſtrike a bold ſtroke by arreſting their enemies, but previouſly to make a ſpeech in the convention, in order to conſult public opinion, and ſee how far it was in their favour.

This method of haranguing upon moments of criſis, when action is become neceſſary, had ruined Briſſot's party and Hebert's; but now Robeſpierre fell into the ſame error. Had he arreſted Barrere, Billaud de Varennes, and a few more of his enemies, that ſame night, he might probably have triumphed; but it was determined to delay that meaſure till the following night, after, as we have ſaid, having conſulted the public opinion.

Robeſpierre and his friends could depend upon ſupport from the Jacobin club and the municipal officers, but their power in the committees and in the

the aſſembly were doubtful; and it was to try this, that they meant to make the experiment next day; St. Juſt was to read a ſpeech to the aſſembly that might ſerve that purpoſe.

When on the morning of the 27th St. Juſt mounted the tribune to ſpeak, the whole convention roſe in a maſs to prevent his being heard.

Talien then demanded to be heard, and Billaud de Varennes, Delmas, and others of the party in danger, haſtened to inform the aſſembly that the Jacobin club had voted its deſtruction; that Henriot, commandant of the national guards, was a traitor; that Robeſpierre had protected perſons who had embezzled the public money, and that he ruled tyrannically in the committee of public ſafety. That the men who were always talking of virtue and juſtice in the Jacobin clubs and in the convention, were thoſe who trampled both under their feet when it ſuited their intereſt. The applauſe with which this denunciation was received, ſhewed Robeſpierre that his fatal experiment upon public opinion was made; he endeavoured to be heard, but was prevented by the repeated cries of *down with the tyrant*.

Talien now attacked the man, whoſe tyranny had long been proclaimed all over Europe, except in the national convention, where it was only newly diſcovered;

diſcovered; and finiſhed his ſpeech by demanding the permanence of the aſſembly till his partiſans ſhould be arreſted.

The convention being now ready to obey the enemies of Robeſpierre, and to decree whatever was demanded; Barrere, who had but two days before been the firſt to ſupport him in all his oppreſſion, mounted the tribune, and, in the name of the committee of public ſafety, denounced *Robeſpierre's party, as being bought over by the combined powers to make a diſgraceful peace*; that an Auſtrian officer had diſcloſed the ſecret.

Amidſt the cries of Robeſpierre to obtain a hearing, and of the accuſations brought againſt him, the convention decreed, that the two Robeſpierres, Cuthon, St. Juſt, and Le Bas, ſhould be arreſted, which was with difficulty accompliſhed. The convention then broke all the officers of the national guards ſuperior to the commandants of diviſions; a proclamation which Barrere had prepared for the provinces followed, and the victory was reckoned as being complete.

The municipal officers, however, were in the intereſt of the accuſed, and inſtead of going to priſon at the Luxembourg, as they were ordered, the criminals were carried to the Hotel de Ville, where, aſſiſted by the municipality and part of

the national guards, they prepared to attack the convention.

So certain had the triumphing party imagined itſelf of the victory being already gained, that the ſitting of the aſſembly had been ſuſpended, and it was only upon its being renewed in the evening, that the members found out that the greateſt danger was yet to come; that the Jacobin club and the municipality had conſpired together, and that Henriot had already attacked ſome of its members. It was then propoſed by the deputies, that the members of the municipality and of the department ſhould be ordered to the bar on purpoſe to be examined. The department obeyed; but the municipality, being at that time occupied in the holy duty of inſurrection, could not come. Robeſpierre and its members were indeed preparing to come to the aſſembly; but not in conſequence of orders received, they were coming with cannon and armed men.

Meanwhile, the committee of public ſafety, which was armed at all times with the power of arbitrary arreſts, and had its meſſengers for the purpoſe, was very buſy in arreſting thoſe who were known to be the principal agents of the revolt; and the aſſembly finding the traitors were numerous, finiſhed by declaring the accuſed deputies and the commons of Paris outlaws,

and, as ſuch, ſubject to the pain of death, as ſoon as they might be caught.

Amidſt the various relations publiſhed of what paſſed on this extraordinary occaſion, it is only poſſible to perceive diſtinctly, that the aſſembly and its committees acted againſt the municipality and Jacobin club; that the two latter, not having expected the buſineſs would come on ſo ſoon, were not prepared to diſplay their force as uſual; and that the great maſs of the people, uncertain which ſide to take, were divided between the two parties, until they found that the convention was likely to get the better, and then, according to cuſtom, the great number came over to its ſide immediately.

Revolutions were now become ſo common in Paris, and, certainly, very properly ſo, as free citizens could not be better employed than in fulfilling the duties of inſurrection, that the manner of conducting them was a matter well underſtood: an addreſs to the people, and to all the provinces; congratulations from the people, apparent unanimity, and rejoicing the moment that ſucceſs declared for one party, was the routine of a revolution; ſo that each ſtep was taken in its proper place, and was prepared for before it was taken. Barrere, ſo long the chief organ of the committees, drew up all the addreſſes on this

occaſion, juſt in the ſame ſtile that he uſed to do for Robeſpierre.

The convention ſent its members into all quarters of the city to bring the people over to its intereſt by reaſon, intreaty, and perſuaſion; but the fortune of the day was, in fact, decided by the want of previous arrangement on the ſide of Robeſpierre; no plan had been laid, and, of conſequence, the meaſures purſued were partial and ill-followed up.*

Between two and three in the morning, a party of armed men was diſpatched under the command of ſome of the deputies to attack the Hotel de Ville. In ſome ſtreets they met friends, who joined them, crying *vive la convention*; in others, they met enemies, who cried *vive les patriots et la commune*; but none of them, however, were ſufficiently determined to come to any open act of aggreſſion.

* We have already ſeen that Robeſpierre did not intend to arreſt his enemies till the night of the 27th, and, of conſequence, all popular exploſion would have been poſterior to that, at all events, according to his calculation. But he probably expected to meet with no reſiſtance, for experience had taught him that the people of Paris do not riſe in inſurrection to defend men who are impriſoned. It muſt have been owing to theſe reaſonings, or ſome ſuch like, that the Jacobins had neglected to raiſe the people ſooner. Their emiſſaries were only at work to do ſo in the Fauxbourgs late in the evening of the 27th, and were counteracted by the deputies, whom the convention diſpatched thither alſo to get the people to embrace their party.

This

This force arrived at the Hotel de Ville, and, as as it was the only party of armed men that was fairly determined, its ſudden appearance decided every thing at once. Robeſpierre attempted to blow out his brains with a piſtol, and mortally wounded himſelf; his brother broke his neck by jumping out of a window; Cuthon ſtabbed himſelf, and Le Bas crept under a pile of firewood to ſave himſelf. The commandant of the guards, Henriot, was attacked by Coffinhall, one of his aſſociates in the conſpiracy, for having deceived the municipality by ſaying that they might depend upon the ſupport of the national guards. Henriot was thrown by him into a common ſewer, from whence he was with difficulty dragged out.*

The whole was over in leſs than an hour after the firſt attack; and before five o'clock in the morning, ſo quickly did the ſtrongeſt party meet with obedience, that congratulations were arriving from all quarters, and continued to do ſo as faſt as the news arrived, from the neareſt ſection in Paris to the moſt diſtant municipality in Auvergne.

* As ſoon as the guards, headed by Leonard Bourdon, and ſome other deputies, entered the Hotel de Ville, the chiefs of the ſubdued party begun to put an end to themſelves, and Robeſpierre was the firſt.

When Legendre, the butcher, was certain that victory was decided, he went to the Jacobin club armed with a piſtol, at the head of a mob of patriots, and in order to ſhoot the preſident, who had had the wiſdom to quit the chair. The club was expelled, Legendre locked the door, and brought the key to the aſſembly; thoſe who were then in the club, finding their party the weakeſt, being very much obliged to Legendre for giving them an opportunity to retire from a poſt which was now become dangerous, and could not be for the time productive of any advantage.

The wounded tyrant was brought on a litter to the door of the convention, which declared, that the preſence of the man they had ſo long obeyed, and from whom every word which fell was received formerly with enthuſiaſm and applauſe, would defile that holy place, the temple of the laws; he was, therefore, ordered to priſon till the preparations for his execution ſhould be made, together with that of his adherents, who, having all been outlawed, the only form neceſſary was to certify their perſonal identity, and then conduct them to the ſcaffold.

Amongſt the congratulations which arrived at the bar of the triumphant aſſembly, was one from its friends, the Jacobins, which is not a little remarkable, after the conduct of that ſociety.

The orator of the Jacobins ſaid, "Citizens, "you ſee here the *true* Jacobins who have me- "rited the eſteem of the French nation, and the "hatred of tyrants; you ſee here men who took "arms to combat thoſe perfidious magiſtrates, who "had uſurped the national authority. True Ja- "cobins, in the moment of alarm, have no par- "ticular place for aſſembling; they are wherever "their preſence is wanted, to combat with, or "watch over conſpirators.

"That monſtrous aſſemblage of conſpirators "which defiled our hall, was compoſed of men "who had no tickets, and who were at the "direction of their infamous chiefs; but we, we "were marching with our ſections to overturn "the new tyrant."

This diſcourſe was received with applauſe, and the preſident (Talien) anſwered by praiſing the energy and patriotiſm of that celebrated ſociety, which had rendered ſignal ſervices to the revolution, which will be immortalized in hiſtory.

Perhaps nothing could be ſo ſevere a ſatyr on the Jacobin club, nor ſo decided a proof of the danger of ſuch a ſociety to a government, as this ſingular addreſs, when contraſted with the conduct of the club, and its having ſo lately been ſhut up by Legendre.

The friends of the Jacobins will no doubt maintain, that what its orator alledged was true, that they were not the *real Jacobins* who occupied the club at the time the conſpiracy broke out. It muſt, however, be remembered, that it was not only during one night that the Jacobins had ſhewn their intentions to take part with Robeſpierre; it had been their practice for ſome time previous to the open acts of hoſtility to prevent Collot d'Herbois, and thoſe who had ſeparated from Robeſpierre, from being heard. The ſame preſident who had preſided before was there when Legendre ſhut up the hall, but he had mixed with the members in the hall, in order to ſave himſelf from the attack of the valiant boucher. It is likewiſe perfectly clear, that it was impoſſible for the tyrant to have truſted to the Jacobin club, if its members had really been what they now pretended to be, his enemies; it was impoſſible for intruders to have uſurped the hall of that celebrated ſociety, for ſeveral days together, without incurring the indignation of its true members; and it may even be obſerved, that if it had been ſo, its true members could not have been more uſeful to the convention in any place than in their own hall, driving away thoſe falſe traitors who had occupied it.

Talien, the preſident, was not impoſed upon, neither was any one preſent, but it was convenient

nient to afford ſo powerful a ſociety a method of getting off and embracing the party of the conquerors; this was what was meant on both ſides, but the poſſibility of doing it in this manner, ſhews how dangerous a thing it is to have a ſelf-created aſſembly that can deny its identity, and avoid puniſhment by ſo groſs a trick. Had Robeſpierre been triumphant, it is certain beyond a doubt, that in place of the club appearing to make excuſes to the convention, the members of the convention who eſcaped maſſacre, would have been going to the club to make their excuſes, and to be admitted into its boſom. The club in that caſe would, perhaps, not have treated the members of the convention ſo well as they were themſelves treated, and Talien, who now anſwered them ſo favourably, would have certainly been one of their firſt victims.

The executions of accuſed perſons had gone on as uſual during the whole of this ſtruggle; it was not till the 28th, when the party really fell, that the guillotine ceaſed to work upon the ordinary victims,* in order to cut off the heads of thoſe ſame men who had given it ſo much eclat and activity.

On

* As this is the laſt moment of the violent reign of terror, it may not be improper to give the liſt of executions for Paris only, during the month of July.

Number

On the 28th in the evening, such of the conquered party as were seized, were conducted to the guillotine. Robespierre was nearly dead from the pistol shot which he had given himself, and another which he had received from a soldier

Number of victims during the Month of July.

	Clergy.	Nobles.	Com. people.	Total.
1st July	1	0	13	14
2	3	5	22	30
4	1	4	21	26
5	3	7	18	28
6	5	40	23	68
7 (omis)	2	22	6	30
9	6	21	32	59
10	7	14	23	44
11	1	2	3	6
12	0	6	22	28
13	8	8	22	38
15	3	8	19	30
16	4	6	21	31
17	1	1	38	40
19	2	12	15	29
20	1	4	9	14
21	4	11	14	29
22	0	26	20	46
23	10	21	24	55
24	6	18	12	36
25	8	23	6	37
26	9	30	14	53
27	3	16	25	44
	88	305	422	815

at

at the Hotel de Ville.* The other principal leaders were all either dead or wounded, ſo that the people of Paris, who rejoiced in ſeeing their cruel maſters go to the ſcaffold, gave a ſcope to their merriment and their ridicule. No cavalcade, they ſaid, could be more groteſque, more ridiculous, nor a more fit object for rejoicing, than that of the mangled maſſacrers of the nation going to expiate their crimes on the ſame ſcaffold where they had ſent ſo many innocent perſons.

Twenty-two perſons ſuffered with Maximilian Robeſpierre the firſt day, ſeventy-one were guillotined the day after, and on the 30th of July, twelve more. The execution of the uſual victims was ſuſpended, and humanity began to

* Maximilian Robeſpierre, 35 years of age, born at Arras, deputy.

A. P. J. Robeſpierre, aged 34, deputy.

A. St. Juſt, born at Liſer, do.

G. Cuthon, aged 38, born at Orſay, do.

J. B. E. Leſcot Fleuriot, aged 39, mayor of Paris.

C. Payan, jury of the revolutionary tribunal, and national agent.

F. Henriot, aged 33, born at Nanterre, commis des barrieres, and commandant of the national guards of Paris.

L. C. F. Dumas, aged 37, lawyer and preſident of the revolutionary tribunal.

N. J. Vivier, aged 50, preſident of the Jacobin club during the night preceding, alſo judge of the criminal tribunal.

A. Simon, ſhoemaker, tutor to the young king; beſides ten other municipal officers, and two others; in all, twenty-three.

breathe.

breathe. The men who had carried the Jacobin ſyſtem to its moſt terrible extent, were now no more, and there ſeemed ſome ground for a reaſonable hope, that the revolution having got to the worſt, might now take a better turn, and that mankind might ſee with pleaſure the diminution of thoſe evils, the rapid and conſtant increaſe of which had filled them with horror and affright.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

The ſyſtem of terror not abandoned, but its rigour diminiſhed after the fall of Robeſpierre—French vanity ſadly mortified by being obliged to confeſs they had been ſlaves—No attempt made to eſtabliſh a conſtitution, or regular government—The deſtruction of aſſignats, or the removal of the convention, are the only things that can reſtore order—New governors expoſe the cruelties of Robeſpierre's reign—Addreſs of the ruling party in deſtroying the coalition of kings—Seconded by the heavy taxes in different countries, which produce diſcontent—Neceſſity for the Engliſh government acting with firmneſs, wiſdom, and moderation, and making ameliorations, if it will avoid violent reforms and revolutions—General reflections and concluſion.

THE triumphant party, though compoſed of men who had ſignalized themſelves on all occaſions, by aiding, abetting, executing and defending the different cruelties during the reign of Robeſpierre, found nothing ſo politically wiſe as to throw upon him the odium of meaſures which it was not for the intereſt of its members to avow as their own, and the criminality of which afforded them ſo

ample

ample a field for diſcuſſion and triumph. Nor is it at all to be doubted, that Talien and others had diſapproved heartily of the ſyſtem of terror, ever ſince the time that they apprehended they were themſelves likely to become its victims.

All this was in favour of humanity, for in proteſting againſt the cruelties of Robeſpierre, it was an affair neceſſary, of courſe, to act differently from what he had done, and accordingly the ſyſtem of terror diminiſhed amazingly; it was even propoſed to ſuſpend the revolutionary government, and to adopt fixed principles and laws for their future conduct. But this was overruled; the preſent maſters of France, though declared enemies to the crimes which the revolutionary government had given birth to, approved ſtill of the principles upon which the cruel party had acted, and thereby left open for themſelves a door for the perſecution of their own enemies, and for the firm eſtabliſhment of their own power.

The whole of the departments now combined in declaring, that they had, during the life of Robeſpierre, groaned under the moſt terrible tyranny ever known; but what is very remarkable, no attempt was made to prevent a repetition of the ſame deſpotiſm, by renouncing for ever thoſe falſe principles which had led to them; this was the more extraordinary, that the vanity of the nation

nation ought to have been humbled: it had received a wound difficult to be healed, when it was obliged, after boasting of the freedom and equality established, to confess the extent and rigour of its arbitrary government. The shame of this, however, only led to denunciations against Robespierre, his accomplices, and his agents; but no one thought of changing the declaration of rights, nor of re-instating the clergy, nor of annulling the decrees about the property of the emigrants, nor of doing away any of those things which had led to that great degree of misery and slavery; the vanity of such men is inconquerable, and they consoled themselves for the affront they had received, by declaring that now they were again free, that they detested the tyrant, and adhered more firmly than ever to liberty, equality, and their former principles.*

* In this country, where it is a fixed principle that rulers should not be intrusted with arbitrary power, lest they should make a bad use of it, the revolutionary government, which is the most unlimited arbitrary government, should be considered as the most terrible infringement on the liberties of the subject; but this is not the case. The present government of France begins to be counted moderate, and our's begins to be called despotic, because it has yet too much energy to be destroyed by the factious and discontented. It is true, that it is only such as are of that description who complain of its despotism; it is a consolation, which the malcontents of France have not. *Un propos contre la nation* is there punished with death.

It

It will only be when the cauſe is removed, that the effect will ceaſe; and though it is true that the ſituation of the French is leſs deplorable ſince the deſtruction of the violent party, there is not the leaſt guarantee againſt the repetition of thoſe ſame ſort of crimes; nor is it with any propriety or truth, that thoſe who have ſince ruled, cry out about their moderation, and the cruelty of the Jacobins, they have been, and ſtill are Jacobins, to all intents and purpoſes, juſt as much as Hebert, Danton, and Robeſpierre himſelf. With individual Jacobins, and Jacobin leaders they have differed, but with Jacobin principles they have been of accord.

The tranſactions in France ſince that period are of little importance; no attempt has been made to eſtabliſh a regular government; no attempt has been made to improve the adminiſtration, nor to procure order and happineſs, ſo that the firſt inſurrection that takes place, may put things again in the poſition that they were in during the time of Robeſpierre; or it may ameliorate the ſtate of the people, by producing ſomething like order. There are only two things that are to be looked to for procuring for France ſomething like law and government.

One great cauſe of the want of order is the dominion exerciſed over the convention by the

Jacobin club, and the mob of Paris; and the other is the creation of aſſignats, which permits the ambitious and the factious to diſpoſe of all the men and all the property of the nation.

Could the convention be removed from Paris, then it is more than probable that law and order would be introduced, and when aſſignats can no longer be created, as taxes muſt be levied, (which cannot be done without a ſubmiſſion to the laws) ſomething like order muſt be eſtabliſhed; but until one or other of thoſe things takes place, it is clear that inſurrection will follow inſurrection, and the ſatisfying of private vengeance will occupy the intervals between inſurrections, as it has done.

When the Jacobins began to fall under the weight of the guillotine, ſome people thought that by degrees France would be exhauſted of factious leaders; but that was a great miſtake, the number increaſes every day, and at preſent the great bulk of the nation is accuſtomed to live by diſorder, and a conſiderable portion of it can live by nothing elſe.

The tyrant had no ſooner fallen, than his ſucceſſors began to bring to light his crimes, and to declaim againſt that oppreſſion which the promoters of order had declaimed againſt all along,

but which the friends of Jacobins in other countries denied. It was now that Fouquier Tinvile, the accuſer before the revolutionary tribunal, in order to defend himſelf, proved that Robeſpierre drew up liſts of victims, and that all thoſe who had revenues drawn from the public funds, were proſcribed as perſons whoſe death would be a public benefit.* The iniquities of the revolutionary tribunal were now unveiled, the cruel oppreſſion of the commiſſaries ſent into the provinces, and particularly of Carrier at Nantz, were made known, and men trembled to hear that their fellow creatures had been confined in priſons under the moſt cruel and moſt rigorous regimen that ever was practiſed, or perhaps conceived [*Note* R.] and that they were dragged to death without trial or examination.

* Much had been ſaid of courtiers in France, in former times, impriſoning the huſband becauſe they admired his wife. There were ſome very diſgraceful inſtances of ſuch things, though they were very rare, but in modern France they were multiplied beyond imagination, and attended with a brutality that added, if poſſible, to the crime. The unfortunate women who ſolicited for huſbands, fathers, or brothers, not only ſaw their relations ſlaughtered without mercy, *after having paid their ranſom at the price of their honour*, but they were themſelves often ſacrificed to the cruelty of the monſter whoſe luſt they had gratified. When there were no friends nor relations to ſerve this purpoſe, violation by force preceded aſſaſſination. It is not the heads of a few miſcreants like Carrier, that can ſatisfy juſtice when ſo offended.

Men,

Men, women, and children, had been drowned and butchered in every method * that their tyrants could invent, and with thoſe circumſtances of combined cruelty that revolt nature [*Note* S.]

All this was brought to light under the idea that Robeſpierre and his agents alone had done it, but that deceived nobody, for Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, and Talien, had been ſome of his agents, they were now amongſt the rulers, and were the firſt to complain.

It had pleaſed the aſſembly, as we have ſeen, to accept of the excuſe made by the Jacobin club, that it was not the club itſelf, but intruders, who had acted againſt the convention; and it may pleaſe Jacobins in other countries to throw the blame of all the cruelties upon Robeſpierre;

* It will be ſeen in the fragments of the trial of the executioners at Nantz, that are at the end of the work, that the puniſhment of victims was conſidered as an amuſement. At Nantz, Carrier cauſed an old man and an old woman to be tied together, naked, back to back; young men and young women to be tied together in the ſame manner, and after inſulting them in whatever manner ſuited their ſavage jocularity at the time, they were thrown into the river. This, Carrier called *a republican marriage*, by way of deriſion. When Carrier was tried, he found many defenders, and his puniſhment had like to have occaſioned a revolution; when Louis XVI. his queen, and his ſiſter, were condemned, no efforts were made to ſave them!!]

and to ſuppoſe that they are over with him, that the rulers of France ſince that time are men attached to law and order; but this can never be believed, ſince thoſe rulers have preſerved the law of the maximum and the revolutionary government.

The fall of Robeſpierre diſconcerted thoſe who counted upon the vigour of one ſingle party, and one ſingle chief; but the armies were recruited, and the enemies repulſed before his deſtruction, and that had no favourable effect upon the operations of the latter part of the campaign; on the contrary, it did conſiderable hurt to the combined powers.

Every change, when things are in a bad ſtate, gives hopes, and this change inſpired all the armies with the hope that liberty was now once for all certain; the diſcuſſions of the aſſembly turning againſt the crimes of Robeſpierre, ſeemed to turn in favour of virtue and order; and Talien, the maſſacring hero of September 1792, was now metamorphoſed into a man, who held bloodſhed in deteſtation, ſo that the French government began to inſpire leſs horror, and thoſe who had to defend themſelves againſt its arms, ſlackened their efforts. The Dutch began to conſider that an alliance was poſſible with the convention, and that it would not be worſe for them to have French commiſſaries, than to have a Prince of Orange

for

for Stadtholder.* They remembered the mortifications of 1787, but they forgot the more recent maſſacres in France.

On no occaſion, one excepted, have the Jacobins ſhewn themſelves *mal adroit* with reſpect to turning to advantage the changes operated by unforeſeen events, and never did they turn any one more artfully to advantage than the fall of Robeſpierre; from that moment did they direct their views to the deſtruction of the coaleſced powers, by flattering them and ſeparating them.

The *third ſtate*, and the people who had nothing, had triumphed over the proprietors, the clergy, and the nobles, by ſeparating their intereſts, and by holding up hopes to the one, at the expenſe of

* The Orange party, which had made ſuch ſtrong efforts for that family in 1787, was now diſcontented; the Stadtholder had not, they complained, given that preference to his friends over his enemies that they merited. This is a very common error, into which moſt rulers fall (except the Jacobins.) Louis XVI. fell partly for the ſame reaſon, and James II. of England found fewer ſupporters than he would have done, had the conduct of Charles II. been more ſevere towards his father's enemies, and more generous towards his friends. It is an odd enough thing that moſt governments treat their enemies better than their friends; this is the caſe with miniſters as well as kings, and it is one reaſon why they have ſo many enemies. It ariſes from their being actuated more by a principle of fear, than of friendſhip or generoſity.

the other, with the intention of finiſhing, by ruining them all; the ſame game was now to be played with nations, that had been played with different orders in their own nation, and the powers at war were to be detached from the coalition, one by one. No more injurious language was heard againſt kings in general, as in the times of Briſſot and Robeſpierre; the law for putting to death Engliſh and Hanoverian priſoners was repealed, and as every thing is judged of by compariſon, the preſent government of France ſeemed to be mild and humane.

The efforts of the Jacobins in different countries, ſeconded, as they always have done, the convention, and begun according to their own term, to *neutralize men's minds (neutraliser les eſprits.)* With reſpect to the nature of the French government, they had contrived in the convention to ſeparate the principles of the revolution, from the atrocities of the revolution; they exclaimed, as all mankind did, againſt the latter, and by coinciding with humane and reaſonable men in this one thing, led many ſuch to coincide with them in the other part of the ſyſtem.

The feeble defence made by the Dutch was one of the conſequences of this; the negotiations entered into by the king of Pruſſia, and the German

ſtates,

ſtates, ariſes partly from the ſame cauſes;* others, there is not a doubt will follow, and provided the plan in view by the convention ſucceeds, the whole of Europe will be thrown into a ſtate of revolution.† The property of thoſe who poſſeſs any at preſent, will be divided as it has been in France, amongſt thoſe who have none, and the ſucceſs of this depends upon one ſingle circumſtance.

France may make peace with all the nations in Europe, without any ſort of heſitation on her ſide,

* The French government being changed, the King of Pruſſia had a ſhadow of an excuſe for changing his conduct alſo. As to the Dutch, their diſcontent with the war, added to the efforts made by Jacobin emiſſaries, to perſuade them, that France would not do the country ſo much harm as its allies had done; they ſaw the invaſion without either much pain or pleaſure; they have paid pretty dearly for their *ſang froid*.

† The leaders in France have never varied in the deſign of introducing revolution into other countries; this is one thing on which they are all of one mind, and have been ever ſince the beginning. The firſt convention thought to make conqueſts by ſpeaking and writing, the ſecond by force of arms, and Robeſpierre by terror. The plan at preſent is to employ all the different ways at once, arms with one, money with another, emiſſaries with a third; by dividing all to triumph over all, and to finiſh by robbing each one at its leiſure. The ſyſtem of plunder in Holland is a ſpecimen; they knew the guillotine made commercial wealth diſappear; therefore a fixed requiſition is firſt exacted, on pretence of neceſſity, with a promiſe of protection; another, and another requiſition ſucceeds, until much more is exacted than could ever have been got by open force at once.

for as the whole country is up in arms, it can begin again juſt as readily as the municipality of Paris can march againſt the convention; it can likewiſe employ emiſſaries and excite diſcontents, while upon its own ſide it has nothing to fear and nothing to loſe.*

The taxes, and of conſequence the diſcontents of people, in other countries, will have been ſo much increaſed by the preſent war, that it will not be difficult to create confuſion, and it will not be very difficult to attack them by open force, and one by one.† There is no danger of a new

* France is now literally in the ſituation of a ragged vagabond, who attacks a well-dreſſed man. Its own ſituation cannot be made worſe, while every blow given to the enemy does an injury, until he ſhall be reduced to the ſame ſituation of filth and dirtineſs, and then the conteſt will become equal.

† The taxes in England will be greatly increaſed by the revolution. To the original taxes, before the war, will be added the intereſt of the money borrowed to carry it on; and it being impoſſible to put either the navy or the army on a peace eſtabliſhment, loans muſt either be continued in time of peace, or elſe heavy taxes laid on to pay the increaſed expenſes. It might not be unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, it will be thus;

Original taxes before the war	16	millions a year.
Intereſt of money borrowed	3	do.
Expenſes of the navy kept up	2	do.
Of the army ordnance and militia	1	do.
Total	22	millions annually.

This

new coalition of nations, for ſome time at leaſt, againſt France, and perhaps it will even be found poſſible to turn the arms of the coaleſced powers againſt each other. Recent injuries are moſt productive of quarrels, and the unfair receſſion of one king from the common cauſe may, with the aid of a little intrigue, bring on new troubles.

The French government, by changing its meaſures and its identity at pleaſure, enjoys an advantage over all other governments, for it can avow, or refuſe to avow, any meaſure that it pleaſes, as it has already done.

The thing, then, on which the fate of Europe depends is ſimply this; *Whether the revolutionary government of France, or the power of defending ourſelves againſt it, ſhall finiſh the firſt?* that is to ſay, Whether the whole of the coaleſced powers ſhall be reduced to the neceſſity of making peace with France before the convention quits Paris, or before the aſſignats ceaſe to ſupply the place of regular taxes? This is now the great queſtion upon which depends the welfare of Europe, and

This is not a very pleaſant proſpect, and will give our enemies a great handle over us, ſo that this government muſt prepare ſeriouſly to make a ſtand againſt their efforts, and, if poſſible, get things upon ſuch a footing when a peace is made, as to prevent the neceſſity of keeping up the army and navy above the uſual eſtabliſhment.

it muſt be confeſſed, that after the various methods by which the credit of the aſſignats have been kept up, it is not poſſible to eſtimate the duration of that reſource, there is even reaſon for thinking, that whilſt the revolutionary government exiſts, aſſignats will be preſerved, and that in ſuch a manner as to ſupply the place of taxes.

The infatuation of the French prevents them from ſeeing that their own intereſt, and that of the reſt of Europe, is the ſame; they want liberty and peace, which they can never have while a few individuals can rule the mob at Paris, and rob the whole kingdom by means of their aſſignats. It would, therefore, be the intereſt of the whole of Europe to come to a proper underſtanding upon this ſubject, if that were poſſible; but if that is not, there is nothing for it, but for other governments to ſet ſeriouſly about a method of protecting themſelves from an attack, whether by open arms or by diſcontents fomented.

The brilliant campaign which the French made laſt year tends greatly to diminiſh the horror in which their government has been held. Bravery, in all caſes, has been conſidered as a ſort of alleviation of guilt, and though, perhaps, improperly ſo, it does certainly diminiſh the horror in which men hold cruelty. Nero never did any thing, perhaps, more cruel than

Alexander

Alexander the Great did, when he took the city of Tyre, but the one was brave and the other was only ſanguinary; the name of Nero inſpires horror and diſguſt, that of Alexander does not, but, on the contrary, carries along with it a certain degree of eſteem and admiration. A change pretty ſimilar has, it is very perceivable, taken place in Europe ſince the beginning of laſt campaign. The French arms were then deſpiſed, and their crimes abhorred; people now eye them differently, their ſucceſs has operated a change in their favour; people talk with leſs diſguſt of their crimes, and ſpeak of their government with rather more reſpect.

The coaleſced powers have neglected much that they ought to have done, and, amongſt other things, they have neglected to contradict the reports ſpread about the bravery, diſcipline, and order of the French armies.*

Europe is left in ignorance of the truth, and of a truth ſo eſſential to be known and ſo eaſily made known. The French ſet to work ſyſtematically to ſpread their falſe reports of victories, and we ſet to work to make known our

* This neglect is inconceivable, ſince it might be ſo eaſily done, and ſince the fate of a war of this nature depends ſo much upon the general opinion which people entertain of the conduct of the oppoſite parties.

defeats

defeats. The gaſconades of Barrere have been copied into all newſpapers in all countries, without either contradiction or commentary: and even thoſe who know their falſity have remained ſilent, when they might with truth have ſaid, (and without danger of being contradicted) that in no one caſe when the numbers were equal, have the French gained a victory over their enemies; that they have never preſerved diſcipline nor order, nor abſtained from pillage, except when they have been maſters of the country, and when, by a general requiſition and diſtribution of aſſignats, the French generals could conſider all the wealth and property of the conquered country as being their own ſtores, in their own magazines, [*Note* T.] that the private ſoldier was not permitted to pillage the individual, becauſe the general pillaged regularly the whole country; but that where that could not be done, there was no ſort of exaction and vexation that was not exerciſed.

Why are not mankind informed of this? Why has pillage and deſtruction been allowed to aſſume the appearance of juſtice and order? Wherefore do the combined powers let themſelves be calumniated and abuſed? Why has it not been explained, that by mere dint of numbers the French have triumphed over armies ſuperior in bravery and in ſkill? and why has it not been explained, that the revolutionary government of the

the French leaves them at all times at liberty to increaſe and multiply oppreſſion and vexation? That one requiſition, which is the title they have choſen to give to robbery, does not preclude them from making another next day, that their ſyſtem ſtill is to continue to take till nothing more remains to be taken.*

The French themſelves require no poſitive teſtimony of guilt where there are moral proofs; if then they are to be judged by their own rule, thoſe who were cruel and unjuſt laſt year, muſt be cruel and unjuſt ſtill, becauſe, though men who have been humane may become cruel, men who have once been practically cruel never become humane; and we have ſeen, that during the whole of the revolution nothing but cruelty and injuſtice has prevailed, though the rulers and their agents have often changed; therefore it is in vain that the blame is thrown upon any particular man or ſet of men, it remains with the nation, and muſt remain with it.

Since the fall of Robeſpierre, though Jacobins in other countries have not been leſs active than before, and though they found in him and his party a ſcape goat, whom they might load with the enormities which ſprung out of their ſyſtem

* The expreſſions of the French themſelves, before they entered into Flanders laſt, were, that they would only leave the inhabitants eyes to weep.

itſelf, yet they have not had the courage to make an attack upon other governments, in the ſame way that they did in the times of the conſtituent aſſembly, and of Briſſot's party. They do not vaunt the rights of man, as uſual, becauſe they are ſenſible, that the crimes of Robeſpierre may be traced to that impure origin, and if they were to ſtir up the inquiry it might hurt their cauſe; but thoſe who wiſh the preſent race of men may not be ſacrificed to wild theories, ſhould ſtir up that diſcuſſion, and it ſhould not only be proved, but made known in every country, *that the original declaration of rights is the cauſe of the miſeries of France.* This is the more neceſſary, that the enemies of order and government now attack people by the moſt inſidious method of any, by endeavouring to ſtir up diſcontent; they cannot now hold France up as they uſed to do, as a model to copy from, but they know that diſcontent brings on revolution, and that is all they want.

The language of thoſe who praiſed the French conſtitution as being a maſter-piece, and who admired its authors, are now a little aſhamed of their error, ſince the guillotine has made ſuch ravages amongſt their heroes, and ſince the ſyſtem they admired has produced ſuch unheard-of ſcenes of miſery, diſtreſs, and wickedneſs; but thoſe ſame perſons are not one bit leſs ſevere on the

the imperfections of other governments; on one ſide *they extenuate much*, and on the other ſeem *to ſet down much in malice*; for certainly take man, inſulated from all degree of anger and reſentment on one ſide, or of favour and good-will on the other, it is impoſſible to ſpeak with expreſſions of indignation againſt the eſtabliſhed governments of Europe, and with expreſſions of complacency towards the government of France, yet ſuch is the daily practice; let it be granted, that other governments are bad, yet that of France muſt be allowed to be worſe, as the end of every government is to make the people happy.

We have already obſerved, that the ſucceſs of the French arms had diminiſhed the horror inſpired by their crimes, and it is equally true, that with reſpect to their enemies their own cauſe ſeems worſe, becauſe it has been badly defended. The pillaging, murdering ſans culotte holds up his victorious arms, and ſays, there is my title to property, let him who dares diſpute its validity; whilſt his enemies, driven behind mountains and rivers, are employed rather in concealing the ſhame of defeat than in preparing to conteſt his right; and what we have obſerved during the whole of the revolution to take place in Paris, amongſt parties, is on the brink of taking place in Europe, amongſt nations. Strength and power are likely to be where they are thought to be,

and

and the French, victorious, but weak and miſerable, will ſoon have more allies than thoſe who fight againſt them.

As we have traced the origin of Jacobiniſm, but, above all, its rapid progreſs, to cauſes that had long exiſted in the government of France, we may likewiſe find, that its continuance, notwithſtanding the unexampled miſery with which it has been attended, is owing to cauſes that exiſt in other governments, and it would be well for thoſe who are moſt intereſted in the preſent order of things, to conſider what they have at preſent, what riſks they run, and what they may do to enſure themſelves againſt thoſe riſks.

It would be vain to imagine, that thoſe who endeavour to ſow diſcontent in other countries, could meet with attentive hearers, if men were not inclined by ſome general motive to liſten to them.

We can eaſily ſuppoſe a leading orator, and a few of his friends, to be actuated by perſonal motives of intereſt or revenge; we can ſuppoſe the preſident of a club, and a few of his aſſociates, to be the ſame; but how are we to account for the avidity with which a great portion of the public is ſwayed by thoſe orators, and that men who are neither ambitious nor vindictive are

amongſt

amongſt their followers. We find that this is the caſe, and the following is the reaſon.

The exiſting governments of Europe, excepting none, *hold abuſe, when ſanctified by precedent too ſacred,* and therefore abuſes are always accumulating without any hopes of their being diminiſhed. The French government is bad, but it is an experiment, and perpetually flatters people with the hope of improvement. Other governments, vaſtly more free in themſelves, and vaſtly more conducive to individual happineſs, do not offer any hope of improvement, and therefore create diſcontent.

It may be ſaid, that this is not reaſonable; perhaps it is not, but it is natural to man. The richeſt proprietor in England, will not he be diſpleaſed if an acre is taken from his eſtate? and the pooreſt, will he not be pleaſed when he ſees a proſpect of his little property augmenting? It will be no argument with the rich man, that he has got ſtill ten thouſand times as much as the poor; no, he thinks not of that, but of what he ought to have. Juſt ſo it is with us, the miſeries of France afford no conſolation to an Engliſhman, who conſiders, that though the abuſes in this country are not nearly equal to thoſe in France, yet ſtill there are abuſes, and that he has not the proſpect of a remedy which he might expect.

Upon the ſuppoſition that the legiſlature of this country wiſh ſincerely to preſerve the preſent order of things,* it may be repreſented to them, that, if the deſire of reform is ſo inherent in the breaſts of men, as to make any conſiderable portion of them willing to run the riſk of a revolution, it ought to be carefully conſidered, by what means ſo terrible a thing as revolution is to be prevented.

The error of the firſt aſſembly in France, in rendering all parts of their conſtitution equally ſacred, brought on the deſtruction of the whole. The rotten pulled down with it what was ſound. The abuſes of the feudal ſyſtem were the cauſe of its total deſtruction, though ſome parts of it were good. The unwillingneſs of the court of France to make a few ſacrifices to the people with a good grace, brought on terrible calamities, that ended in the total deſtruction of the court, and the miſery of the people. A little ſooner, or a little later, ſimilar cauſes produce ſimilar effects in all countries; for the mind of man throughout the world is nearly the ſame. Hope and fear act on all, and muſt always do ſo; therefore, no nation can with reaſon think that it will be exempted from the revolutions, which the paſſions of men bring on, by any other mode

* What applies to England, will apply to moſt other countries in Europe, though not always in the ſame degree.

than

than that of preventing the unfavourable action of thoſe paſſions.

There is one reform in this country that will inevitably bring on a revolution when it takes place; that is, the reform of the repreſentation of the people; therefore, that reform ſhould be by ſome means prevented; and, though there are many devices that may be fallen upon to *retard* the meaſure, there is but one to *prevent it*. The houſe of Commons muſt ſhow that it requires no reform, and then the nation will be contented, but never till then.

Is it not the duty of the repreſentatives of the people to inquire into what may be done for the happineſs of the people, and to go on with a reſolute intention and a firm ſtep in the execution of their deſign? Is it not notoriouſly known by the experience of every day that the code of civil law in this country wants amendment, and its adminiſtration wants it ſtill more? Does not the whole nation cry out, as with one voice, againſt an army of depredators, who, under the pretence of procuring juſtice* for individuals, rob them often

* With reſpect to the judges of this country, it muſt be ſaid to their honour, that, in no country under the ſun are they more equitable, nor more careful to ſearch out truth, and adminiſter

often of their all. A reform in the law would lead to no dangerous conſequences, and it would be of infinite utility, and create univerſal ſatisfaction; *it would give hope.* We ſhould not then ſee a few miſerable wretches hanged for ſtealing trifles, while we ſee others riding in coaches, ſupported by the ſpoils of whole families, and inſulting the indigence which they have produced.

When evils are complained of, let thoſe who can remedy them inquire into them with candour and attention; if they admit of a remedy, let it be applied; and, if they do not, let that be proved, and we ſhall be ſatisfied; but it muſt be owned, that contentment and ſatisfaction cannot be expected at any leſſer price.

Thoſe who enjoy places of power and profit, let them do it with modeſty and moderation; and, above all, let them fulfil the duties of their offices; let it be conſidered that every thing has its price, and that the liberty and happineſs which we enjoy, may ſeem too dear.

miniſter juſtice; but then, tied up by law and precedent on one ſide, and tormented by the chicane and ſubterfuge of men who act in their courts, they have it not in their power always to do juſtice; nor, when they do, have they any proper controul over the expenſe which that juſtice coſts.

let

Let the vigour of government be preſerved; let it yield nothing to menace, but every thing to juſtice; and though we have ſeen that abſtract principles are dangerous in governments, there is one principle that may be adopted without danger: *That when the ſituation of mankind can be ameliorated by a change, without running any riſk of making it worſe, it ought to be done, and that it is the duty of rulers to do it.*

Governments are obliged to employ many ſorts of means to ſupport their power; and when they ceaſe to employ any, they ſoon fall. A bad government that appears eternally ſtruggling to render the people happy by good laws, even if it ſhould not ſucceed, will find advocates and admirers, it will even inſpire enthuſiaſm in many caſes, as we ſee that of France has done; but a government that ſeems careleſs of procuring the ameliorations that are pointed out, and may be obtained, will find few advocates, few admirers, and never will inſpire enthuſiaſm.

We have ſeen that affiliated clubs, interfering in the politics and adminiſtration of a country, are the ruin of peace, happineſs, and liberty. Let them be forbidden by law under the ſevereſt penalties; but, at the ſame time, let thoſe who apply for a redreſs of grievances in a fair, open, and candid manner, meet with attention; let

not the power of rulers ſtifle public complaint, nor the inſolence of office inſult or oppreſs the individual. The times are changed ſince Shakeſpeare's days; men do not now rather bear the ills they have, than fly to others that they know not of.

The inſolence of office, the law's delay, and the affronts that patient merit of the unworthy bears, are griefs of which the preſent age complains, and which it is not inclined to bear any longer with patience. As this is evident beyond a doubt, let a remedy be ſought by amelioration, of which the conſequences may be calculated.

Though the ſyſtem of Jacobiniſm, and the reign of Jacobins did not ceaſe with Robeſpierre, yet its hiſtory, as far as relates to the interior of France, may with propriety ſtop for the preſent at that period, becauſe the real conduct of the leaders of any party is not known till that party falls; and, as the party which overthrew Robeſpierre is yet in the Capitol, though perhaps not very far from the Tarpeian rock, yet it is not time to examine its conduct any farther than to obſerve that, though the revolutionary government has continued, and the requiſitions alſo, yet neither have been put in execution with the rigour formerly employed. We have already obſerved, that the true guarantee of the good in-

tentions of the preſent governors of France would be their laying aſide that unexampled degree of power ſo eaſily abuſed. We ſhall give them their credit for moderation and for good intentions, when they enact laws and eſtabliſh a conſtitution, after having inquired by what means the deſpotiſm under which France groaned in the time of Robeſpierre was eſtabliſhed. It will not be ſaid, that if Robeſpierre's wickedneſs made him exerciſe a cruel deſpotiſm, that his own abilities or gigantic force made him a deſpot. He either muſt have found men or things to favour his ambitious views; thoſe ſhould be ſought after; and, ſurely, it cannot be very difficult to trace his tyranny to the declaration of rights and the inſurrections brought about by means of it and of the Jacobin club.

It is by no means with the unfair intention of painting Jacobiniſm in its blackeſt colours, that we ceaſe its hiſtory at the fall of its greateſt tyrant; although the revolution has gained many partiſans by its hiſtorians ſtopping at the 10th of Auguſt, and, therefore, only ſhewing its faireſt ſide. Such partial repreſentations, if done with intention, are unfair; the reigns of Nero and Caligula are not to be ſelected and given as the reigns of Roman emperors, neither are thoſe of Marcus Aurelius and Titus Antoninus to be given under that title. Truth is the object of hiſtory,

and whatever tends to diſguiſe that, deſtroys its true end.

The parties of Talien and Barrere had been directly oppoſed to each other before the fall of Robeſpierre, and that difference ſoon broke out again, as might be expected. The different partiſans of Barrere and Collot d'Herbois, as well as themſelves, have been baniſhed; and this purification will probably go on till ſome new inſurrection takes place, of which the fate will depend, as is uſual in all their inſurrections, upon the public opinion with reſpect to the ſtrength of the parties. Talien and his friends have now ruled about nine months; they have ſhewn ſome moderation and much addreſs; they have already ſucceeded in weakening their enemies by the ſubjection of Holland, and by detaching the King of Pruſſia from the league againſt them. They have been witneſſes to vexatious exactions in Holland, and unexampled cruelties committed by their armies in Spain. In Holland, where they were maſters, they have avowed their injuſtice; in Spain, where they expect yet to make conqueſts, they have diſavowed their cruelties, but they have not puniſhed them. But the beſt of all their actions is their having puniſhed the agents, and what they call the continuators of Robeſpierre, and expoſed the cruelties which were committed under his reign; though, until they have diſa-

vowed

vowed his principles, and laid down their power, it will be difficult for us to forget that they themſelves were of the number of the tyrant's agents.

More moderate than Robeſpierre, and leſs ſo than Briſſot and his party, the preſent rulers of France have co-operated with both; but all the three agreed perfectly in their plans of conqueſt, though they differed about the means; they all agreed in the principle of inſurrection and what they call liberty and equality, but they differed as to the lengths to which they ſhould be carried. In one word, they have all joined in deſtroying religion and government, and pillaging property, though they have all differed about the diſtribution of power and the diviſion of the ſpoils. It cannot, therefore, be admitted that Jacobiniſm does not reign in France, becauſe of late they have exclaimed againſt it; but their doing ſo is a proof that the miſery of the country is by themſelves aſcribed to the principles adopted by the clubs, and propagated by them. And it affords a reaſonable ground of hope that, as their deluſion ceaſes, their miſery will decreaſe, and that that miſerable nation may at laſt find happineſs reſtored, by reſtoring order and government, which ſhe has ſo long ſacrificed, to a love of theory, and imaginary perfection.

The

The Jacobins individually having become odious, it will naturally follow that their principles will become ſo too; though, from the preſent ſtate of things to ſo happy a concluſion, there muſt be a long progreſſion, and many ſtorms are to be feared, in ſome of which Jacobiniſm may triumph, but, in the end, it muſt fall; miſery muſt at laſt get the better of vanity; the provinces of France muſt, in the end, ſhake off the yoke of the rabble of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine; and the nation will at laſt ſee into the abſurdity of putting every thing at the diſpoſition of a number of intriguing deſpots, who by means of a printing preſs and reams of aſſignats, pillage the nation, and excite maſſacre and bloodſhed. Never did any nation pay ſo dear for an error, nor never did any ſtruggle begun for liberty ſo effectually retard its progreſs; but the whole human race may profit by it, and it may be the means of procuring happineſs for ages yet to come, by ſhewing the danger of error when ſupported by enthuſiaſm.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

DECLARATION OF THE KING,

Concerning the preſent holding of the States General, read to the Aſſembly of the States at the Seance Royale of the 23d of June, 1789.

IT is the king's will that the three orders of the ſtate ſhould be preſerved entire, as being eſſentially connected with the conſtitution of his kingdom; that the deputies freely choſen by each of the three orders, forming three chambers, deliberating by order (or ſeparately) and having a right, with the approbation of his majeſty, to determine upon deliberating in common, are to be conſidered as forming the body of repreſentatives of the nation. In conſequence of this, the king declares the deliberations adopted by the deputies of the orders of the third ſtate on the 17th of this month; as alſo whatever may ariſe out of theſe deliberations, to be null and void, as being illegal and unconſtitutional.

His

His majeſty declares to be good and valid all the powers of deputies verified, or to be verified in each chamber, againſt which no objections have ariſen, or ſhall ariſe. His majeſty orders that communication ſhall be mutually and reſpectively given between the orders on that ſubject.

With regard to the powers which may be conteſted in each order, and concerning which the parties intereſted will do what is neceſſary, the king will determine in the manner hereafter to be ordered, for and during the holding of the preſent ſtates general only.

The king breaks and annuls, as being unconſtitutional, contrary to the writs of convocation, and to the intereſt of the ſtate, ſuch reſtriction of power, as by diminiſhing the freedom of deputies to the ſtates general, may hinder them from adopting the forms of deliberation taken ſeparately, by order, or in common by the diſtinct will of the three orders.

If, contrary to the intentions of the king, ſome of the deputies have taken an oath raſhly, not to deviate from ſome particular form of deliberation, his majeſty leaves it to their conſcience to determine whether or not the rules which he is about to lay down, agree with, or differ from the letter or the ſpirit of the engagements which they have taken.

The king permits thoſe deputies who thinks themſelves confined by their inſtructions, to demand new powers from their conſtituents. But his majeſty enjoins them to remain, in the mean time, at the ſtates general,

general, and to give their opinion and advice on the preſſing affairs of the ſtate.

His majeſty declares, that in a future convocation of the ſtates general, he will not allow the cahiers or orders given to the deputies to be conſidered as any thing more than ſimply inſtructions confided to the conſcience and free opinion of the deputies choſen.

His majeſty having exhorted the three orders to reunite themſelves for the good of the ſtate, during the holding of the preſent ſtates, and no longer, that they may deliberate in common upon affairs of general utility, deſires to make known his intentions as to the manner in which they are to proceed.

Nothing can be treated of in a common aſſembly that regards the ancient conſtitutional rights of the three orders, the form that is to be given to future aſſemblies of the ſtates general, feudal or ſeignorial property, or the uſeful rights, or honourable prerogatives of the two firſt orders.

The particular conſent of the clergy ſhall be neceſſary for all regulations that may intereſt religion, eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, or the laws and regulations reſpecting regular or ſecular orders and bodies.

All deliberations entered into by the three orders, in common, about the conteſted powers of deputies, ſhall be determined by the plurality of votes; but if two thirds of the voices in one of the three orders proteſts againſt the determination, the affair ſhall be appealed to his majeſty, to be by him definitively determined.

If with a view to facilitate the re-union of the three orders, they ſhall wiſh that the queſtions to be deliberated in common, ſhall be determined by a majority of two thirds of the voices only, his majeſty is diſpoſed to authoriſe that method. The affairs which ſhall have been decided in the aſſembly of the three orders reunited, ſhall be a ſecond time diſcuſſed the day following, if one hundred members demand it.

The king wiſhes in the preſent circumſtances, in order to preſerve harmony and concord, that the three chambers ſhould begin ſeparately to name a commiſſion, compoſed of any number of deputies they may think proper, to prepare the form and the diſtribution of the *beaureaus of confidence*, where the different affairs are to be diſcuſſed.

The general aſſembly of the orders ſhall be repreſented by the preſidents, choſen by each of the orders, according to their uſual rank.

Good order, decency, and liberty in voting, require that his majeſty ſhould forbid, expreſsly, any perſon who is not a member of the ſtates general, from taking part in their deliberations, whether they are taken jointly or ſeparately.

DECLARATIONS OF THE INTENTIONS OF THE KING.

No new tax ſhall be levied, nor any old one continued beyond the term fixed by the law, without the conſent of the repreſentatives of the nation.

New

New taxes which may be laid on, or old ones, of which the duration may be prolonged, ſhall never be done but for the term it has to run, between ſuch time of prolongation or laying on, and the meeting of the next aſſembly of the ſtates general.

As loans of money may become the occaſion of an increaſe of expenſes, no loan ſhall be made without the conſent of the ſtates general, except in caſe of war or other national danger, the ſovereign ſhall have the right to borrow a ſum not exceeding one hundred millions; for the intention of the king is never to put the ſafety of his empire into the power of any man or body of men.

The ſtates general will examine with care the ſituation of the finances, and will demand all the information that is neceſſary for underſtanding them perfectly.

A table, giving a ſtate of the revenue and expenſes, ſhall be publiſhed every year in a form propoſed by the ſtates general, and approved of by the king.

The ſums deſtined for each department in the ſtate ſhall be determined in a fixed and invariable manner, and the king ſubmits the expenſes of his houſhold to that ſame rule.

The king's will is, that in order to render the ſums that are neceſſary, certain, the ſtates general do point out to him the regulations neceſſary, which his majeſty will adopt if they are ſuch as are conſiſtent with royal dignity, and the indiſpenſable diſpatch of public affairs.

The

The repreſentatives of the nation, faithful to the laws of honour and of probity, will do nothing incompatible with the public faith; and the king expects that the claims of the creditors of the ſtate ſhall be confirmed in the moſt authentic manner.

When the diſpoſition of the clergy and nobility, already formally announced of renouncing their pecuniary privileges, ſhall have actually been realized by their deliberations, the intention of the king is to ſanction it, and that in future there ſhall not exiſt in the payment of pecuniary contributions any ſort of privilege or diſtinction.

The king wills, that in order to render ſacred ſo important a principle, the name of *taille* ſhall be entirely aboliſhed in the kingdom, and that the tax levied by that title, ſhall be commuted with the twentieth, or ſome other territorial tax; or that it be replaced in ſome other manner, but upon juſt, fair, and equal principles, without diſtinction of rank, birth, or condition.

The king wills, that the right of FRANC-FIEF ſhall be aboliſhed as ſoon as the revenues and expenſes of the ſtate ſhall be brought to balance each other.

All ſorts of property, without diſtinction, ſhall be conſtantly reſpected; and his majeſty expreſsly mentions, under the name of property, tythes, hundredths, rents, rights, and ſervices, feudal and ſeignorial; and in general all uſeful or honourable rights and prerogatives attached to lands or fiefs, or belonging to perſons.

The

The two first orders of the state shall continue to enjoy the exemption of personal charges, but the king wishes the states general to employ itself in converting these sort of charges into contributions in money, and then that all the orders should be alike subjected to them.

The intention of his majesty is to determine, with the advice of the states general, what are to be the employments and places which shall in future transmit or confer nobility. His majesty, nevertheless, according to the right inherent in the crown, will grant patents of nobility to such of his subjects, as, by services rendered to the king or to the state, shall have shewn themselves deserving of such a recompence.

The king wishing to secure personal liberty to all citizens in a lasting and solid manner, invites the states general to seek out and propose to him the best mode of reconciling the abolition of LETTRES DE CACHET with the safety of the public, and with the precautions necessary in certain cases to preserve the honour of families, as well as to crush sedition in its commencement, and to secure the state against the effects of criminal correspondences with foreign powers.

The states general will examine and make known to his Majesty the best means of reconciling the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS, with the respect due to religion and manners, and the honour of citizens.

There shall be established in the different provinces or generalities of the kingdom, provincial states, composed of two-tenths of members of the clergy, of whom

one part will be neceſſarily choſen from the epiſcopal order, three-tenths from the order of the nobility, and five-tenths from the third eſtate.

The members of the provincial ſtates ſhall be freely choſen by their reſpective orders; and it will be neceſſary to be poſſeſſed of ſome property in order to be either a voter or a member.

The deputies of the provincial ſtates ſhall deliberate in common upon all affairs, according to the cuſtoms and practice of the provincial aſſemblies whom theſe ſtates ſhall replace.

An intermediate commiſſion, choſen by theſe ſtates, ſhall adminiſter the affairs of the province during the interval of the ſeſſions; and theſe intermediate commiſſions being reſponſible for their conduct, ſhall have delegates choſen by themſelves alone, or by the provincial ſtates.

The ſtates general will propoſe to the king their views with reſpect to all other parts of the interior organization of the provincial ſtates, and for the choice of the forms applicable to the election of the members of the ſaid ſtates.

Independent of the objects of adminiſtration with which the provincial aſſemblies are charged, the king will confide to their care the adminiſtration of hoſpitals, priſons, depots for mendicants, foundling hoſpitals, the inſpection into the expenſes of towns, the care of foreſts, the care and the ſale of timber, and ſuch other

objects

objects as may be advantageouſly adminiſtered by the provinces.

All conteſtations that may ariſe in the provinces where ancient ſtates have exiſted, and all reclamations againſt the forming of theſe aſſemblies, ſhould occupy the attention of the ſtates general, who will make known to his majeſty the diſpoſitions of juſtice and of wiſdom which it may be proper to adopt, in order to eſtabliſh a fixed rule in the adminiſtration of theſe provinces.

The king invites the ſtates general to occupy itſelf to diſcover the beſt means of turning the royal domains to advantage, as well as to give their views with reſpect to thoſe which are mortgaged.

The ſtates general will occupy itſelf about a project conceived a long time paſt of carrying all the cuſtom-houſes to the frontiers of the kingdom, ſo that the moſt unreſtrained and free circulation of merchandiſes, whether foreign or national, may take place in the interior of the kingdom.

His majeſty deſires that the vexatious effects of the taxes on ſalt, and the importance of that revenue, may be carefully conſidered; and that, at all events, means of ſoftening the rigour in receiving the ſaid tax be attended to.

His majeſty deſires likewiſe that the inconveniencies ariſing from the *droits d'aides*, and other taxes, may be carefully conſidered, but without loſing ſight of the

abſolute neceſſity of preſerving an exact balance between the revenue and the expenſes of the ſtate.

According to the intentions manifeſted by his majeſty, in his declaration of the 23d of laſt September, the king will examine with ſerious attention ſuch projects as ſhall be delivered to him on the adminiſtration of juſtice, and of the means of perfectioning the civil and criminal code.

The king wills, that ſuch laws as he may promulgate during the holding of the ſtates general ſhall not ſuffer any delay in the enregiſtering, nor any obſtacle in their execution, throughout the whole extent of his kingdom.

His majeſty's will is, that the corvée for the making and keeping in repair high roads, ſhall be entirely and erpetually aboliſhed in his kingdom.

The king wills the abolition of the right of *main-morte*, of which his majeſty has given an example on his own domains, ſhould be extended to the whole of France; and that ſome means may be propoſed to him to indemnify the lords in poſſeſſion of ſuch rights.

His majeſty will inceſſantly make known to the ſtates general the rules by which he means to regulate the *capitaineries*, and thereby give his ſubjects a proof of his affection by putting reſtrictions on what is moſt intimately connected with his perſonal enjoyments.

The king invites the ſtates general to conſider the drawing for the militia in every point of view; and to conſider

conſider on the beſt modes for reconciling the defence of the ſtate with the ameliorations which he would wiſh to bring about in the condition of the ſubject.

It is the king's will that all rules and diſpoſitions for public order and the happineſs of his people, which his majeſty ſhall have ſanctioned by his authority during the ſeſſion of the preſent ſtates general; and, amongſt others, thoſe relative to perſonal liberty, equality of taxes, the eſtabliſhment of provincial ſtates, never can be changed without the conſent of the three orders taken ſeparately. His majeſty places them already in the rank of national property; and he deſires to place theſe, like every other ſpecies of property, under the moſt ſacred guard poſſible.

His majeſty, after having called the ſtates general in order to aſſiſt him in great objects of public utility, and in every thing that can contribute to the happineſs of his people, declares in the moſt expreſs manner, that he will preſerve entire and without the leaſt alteration the inſtitution of the army, as well as of all authority, police, and power, over the military, ſuch as the French monarchs have always enjoyed.

I have given this tranſlation complete, as being the only ſpecimen that I know of the legiſlative talents or diſpoſition of the court of France, previous to the 14th of July, towards bettering the ſtate of the people. A few obſervations muſt occur to every one on reading this. To all, the time and circumſtances under which this was offered will render its ſincerity ſuſpected; and it is evident that no ſecurity was given for the permanence of the advantages that were offered and the conceſſions

propoſed. It was, in one word, a half-meaſure; for an arbitrary monarch it was too much, and for a free people too little. The royaliſts are attached to this declaration in the ſame way that the conſtitutionaliſts are to the conſtitution, and with juſt as little reaſon. The king here ſays, that when he promulgates a law, during the ſitting of the ſtates, no delay to the ſanction, nor no oppoſition to the execution, was to be given; he there impoſed a very hard law, and ſet his enemies the example about the veto. Whoever compoſed this muſt be accuſed of total ignorance of the rights that are neceſſary to ſecure freedom, and protect the people againſt arbitrary power. At the ſame that I make theſe obſervations, I think, that if it were poſſible for thoſe who poſſeſs power to exerciſe it with moderation, and to keep ſtrictly to what is their right, France might have enjoyed great advantages under their monarchy with thoſe modifications, for I do not think they are capable of ever enjoying what we in England call freedom. I know them well, and I ſhall never believe, until I am convinced by experience, that the French have patience or calmneſs ſufficient to adminiſter a free government, and without a good adminiſtration freedom is worſe than deſpotiſm.

NOTE B.

A CIRCUMSTANCE little known will prove, that there was no bravery diſplayed in the taking of the Baſtille. A number of the ſubſcribers to the Lyceum

at

at Paris determined to collect and publiſh the facts relative to ſo extraordinary an exploit; accordingly, a great number of witneſſes were examined, and it was diſcovered at laſt, that the governor had opened the door, and let the conquerors walk in. A debate then aroſe among the compilers of the hiſtory—Shall we publiſh a thing that will be diſgraceful to the Pariſians after ſo much boaſting and ſo many falſities? or ſhall we deſiſt? were the queſtions. Let us go on, ſaid one ſubſcriber, we are ſearching for truth, let us find it; but as all truths are not good to be told, let us not publiſh it. The advice was taken, and the latter part of it was the beſt; for certainly the conquerors of the Baſtile would ſoon have pulled down the Lyceum, if the truth had been publiſhed.

This anecdote, for the truth of which I appeal to M. de la Harpe and M. la Croix, or any of the literary gentlemen who attended the Lyceum at that time, is a proof of the ſpirit of democratic deception which pervaded the people of Paris from the beginning of the revolution, and the unanimity with which the French nation joins in exalting its own bravery and deceiving the world. Whilſt all orders of nobility were deſtroying, an order was inſtituted, (compoſed of revolted ſoldiers, ſome of the ſans culottes of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, and M. M. Bailly and La Fayette) decorated with a medal, bearing the inſcription, "Conquerors of the Baſtille." The origin of this was inſurrection, and the manner of obtaining it was the teſtimony of ſeven conquerors, which dubbed the eighth conqueror too. As French books of heraldry are all burned, I know not by what regulation M. Bailly and La Fayette were admitted conquerors,

as they were at Verſailles on that glorious day. It was by ſuch tricks as this that all Europe was juggled by the firſt revolutioniſts, who were neither conquerors, philoſophers, nor well-meaning men; but who, by falſe facts and falſe appearances, contrived to paſs for all the three.

NOTE C.

M. DE LA FAYETTE was the firſt who read a project of the rights of man to the aſſembly on the 10th of July, 1789; the immediate conſideration of this project was delayed by the revolution, which happened two days after. It was the cuſtom for ſuch different deputies as choſe it, to give projects on important occaſions, and the aſſembly adopted that which it liked the beſt. Mounier was a literary man and of great abilities, his project was preferred; but, in fact, it was very little different from that of Fayette.

Next to the duty of inſurrection, the unlimited liberty of the preſs was the worſt of the rights, ſedition and calumny are the elements of public and private miſery and misfortune, and it is very unfortunate, that it ſhould be poſſible ſo far to miſlead people, as to make them for a moment imagine, that the cauſe of liberty is forwarded by ſuch rights. A democrat imagined, as the beſt method of putting an end to the deſpots of Europe, to diſpatch a good ſtaunch French patriot apothecary to each capital in Europe, where, under the cloak of the law, he might ſell poiſon, and wait for occa-

occaſion to ſell it to good purpoſe. A very grave diſcuſſion took place, and it was the general opinion of the democrats preſent, that to ſell poiſon was one of the rights of man on all occaſions, and that it was ſometimes a duty (*vendre l'arſenic c'eſt le droit de toute homme, et l'adminiſtrer ſur des certains occaſions c'eſt un devoir.*) To ſuch a pitch as this did a declaration of rights and duties lead men, by having overturned the uſual ideas of moral right and wrong, and ſet the ignorant and ambitious looſe on a ſea of error.

NOTE D.

THE declaration of rights originated with M. de la Fayette two days before inſurrection broke out in Paris, and the people were juſt full of that new idea of the ſacred duty of inſurrection, when the armed force arriving gave them the ſignal for putting the principle in practice. If the famous declaration of rights were out of the reach of criticiſm in any other way, ſtill it might be attacked upon this principle, that all the parties ſince have equally invoked it, and that therefore it is either ſo contradictory in itſelf, or ſo difficult to be underſtood, that it leads men to oppoſe one another, at the ſame time that they think themſelves all conforming to the ſame declaration.

The conſequences of the bill of rights have been terrible, and its origin was vanity. When in England our forefathers inſiſted upon a bill of rights, they ſatisfied

tisfied themſelves with fixing them upon a ſolid baſis, without running the riſk of throwing out abſtract principles to lead the people aſtray. Metaphyſical reaſonings are ſometimes neceſſary to lead people to juſt concluſions, but they are very dangerous when thrown out to the people at large, who, in ſpite of what may be ſaid to the contrary, are more intereſted in the obedience of laws than the principles upon which thoſe laws are founded. It was the vanity of wiſhing to appear philoſophers that made the firſt aſſembly draw up the declaration in the manner that it was done, or, in other words, that made them adopt this declaration. M. Mounier, though a very clever man, was not exempt from reproach on this head, and it ſeems probable, that he was led into it by the firſt idea given by La Fayette, for the fact is, that though Mounier's project was preferred, all the originality of it was due to La Fayette's firſt ſpeech on that ſubject. Perhaps, alſo, as Mounier had revolt to excuſe, having himſelf participated in it, he was led to make the declaration different from what he would have done had he wrote it a few weeks ſooner: be that as it may, he was one of the firſt to ſee and to feel the exceſſes to which it led.

NOTE F.

THIS ſanguinary expreſſion of Barnave made a very great impreſſion at the time, and did an immenſe deal of harm, for it was conſtrued by the people into a ſort of approbation on the part of the aſſembly of imbruing their

their hands in blood, provided it was not very pure. The man who had the ferocity to explain himſelf in ſuch a manner, not only muſt have had no feeling, but he muſt have been totally ignorant of the terrible conſequences of a mob taking upon itſelf to judge, whether the blood of any individual man was pure or not; becauſe, if Barnave was to be credited, murder was only to be lamented when the perſon murdered was innocent; now a more dangerous idea never could be held out to the people, for where does an incenſed mob ever imagine that its victims are innocent? The aſſembly certainly participated in Barnave's crime, by not inſtantly ſhewing indignation at ſuch a principle. The maſs of the people can only be reſtrained from puniſhing its enemies by inculcating well upon them, that all puniſhments without a previous, and free, and fair conviction of their juſtice, are equally criminal.

NOTE G.

BERTHIER and Foulon were not more obnoxious to the people than many other perſons who were never touched; but the father-in-law, as a monied man, and Berthier, as intendant of Paris, were acquainted with ſome manœuvres reſpecting the monopoly of grain, that it would have been very dangerous for the party of the Duke of Orleans to have made known. Perſons were ſeen exciting the mob to deſtroy the victims, and certainly the rage againſt Baron de Beſenval, *who was not injured by the mob when he was brought* to Paris, tried

tried and acquitted, was much greater than it had ever been with regard to Foulon and his ſon-in-law.

NOTE H.

ALTHOUGH the duke had taken a great many precautions to prevent diſcovery, yet as he had ſeveral accomplices that were imprudent, all he could do was to prevent puniſhment, and there are ſome of the creditors of the unfortunate banker who have got ſufficient proofs of the tranſaction in their hands to lay a claim upon the ſucceſſion of the family of Orleans, if things ſhould ever take ſuch a turn in France as to admit the poſſibility of it. The manœuvre was not entirely unknown at Verſailles, for the queen was heard to ſay, on being ſhewn a perſon who had been ruined by this bankruptcy, Ah! that unfortunate money of Pinet, it has largely contributed to our misfortunes. In Paris it was ſpread abroad, that the unfortunate man, having lent large ſums to the Count d'Artois, had blown out his own brains on account of the flight of that prince, ſo that the democratic party gained doubly by this aſſaſſination; they acquired money and incenſed the people againſt the extravagance of the court, by pointing out Pinet's numerous creditors as the victims of the extravagance of the Count d'Artois.

NOTE I.

MIRABEAU certainly was, previous to this, in favour with the Duke of Orleans, and he owned, that having met the Duke on the road, he had obſerved to him, that whether they had a Louis Sixteenth or Seventeenth upon the throne, it was all the ſame to the nation; upon which, ſaid he, the duke ſpoke to me with great complacency and good-nature.

With regard to the report laid before the aſſembly by M. Chabroud on this ſubject, it is very clear, that though there was no poſitive evidence againſt the duke, there was much preſumptive proof; from which, however, Chabroud concludes, that the duke was not guilty. It would have been very imprudent to have found the great democratic leader guilty of any attempt againſt the ſovereign, as ſuch attempts were deemed honourable and uſeful, and even the cut-throat Jourdan, who had been active, and had cut off the heads of two of the life guards, was protected from juſtice, though accuſed, and an order for arreſting him given; ſo far was this fellow from being puniſhed, that, though one of the loweſt of the people, he afterwards became a general at Avignon. Robeſpierre purged the world afterwards of both thoſe monſters. One argument uſed for the exculpation of M. d'Orleans was, that the Duke de Biron was ſuppoſed to be along with him, and that this latter had never ſhewn himſelf to be of a ſanguinary diſpoſition. The caſe was, that though Biron was a very different ſort of a man, yet they had become allies and partners in moſt of their

actions, the one was the tool, the other the knave, and Biron, as he plainly ſhewed ſince, was an enemy to the king; he was one of thoſe eaſy men, who, when they have not a fixed principle of action in their own breaſt, are ready to let themſelves be led away by the deſigning and wicked.

NOTE K.

SEVERAL different parties propoſed plans for ſaving the royal family; all were rejected by his majeſty as being inconſiſtent with the oath which he had taken, and in danger of producing a civil war. It is not to be doubted but that the fear of being arreſted a ſecond time, and worſe treated than on the former occaſion, weighed much with the king, particularly as after what had happened on the 20th of June, the oath that he had taken could no longer be conſidered as binding. It was after the 20th of June, that thoſe who had before endeavoured to perſuade his majeſty to depart, doubled their efforts and perſuaſions. It was propoſed to convey the royal family ſecretly to *Compiégne*, to which place a detachment of the army of La Fayette would have been ſent to their protection. And when the king refuſed this plan another was propoſed. Under the eſcort of 1500 of the national guards, of whom they could be certain, 300 Swiſs guards, and about 1500 gentlemen, it was propoſed to conduct the royal family to Rouen in Normandy, where the inhabitants, the troops, and the commanders, would all be ſure to favour the enter-

priſe. This plan was alſo refuſed only a few days before the 10th of Auguſt.

No ſtep that the king could have taken could be more unfortunate for the nation than that which he perſiſted in, of remaining till he was attacked; but perhaps he might have taken one more unfavourable to himſelf. The Jacobins have ſhewn, on all occaſions, ſo much energy, and the other party ſo little; the former have been ſo fortunate, and the latter ſo unlucky, in whatever they have attempted, that it is probable the king would have been led into ſome difficulty, that would have terminated in putting him again into the hands of his enemies, when he would not have been ſo irreproachable as he remained by refuſing to move from Paris. At all events, the unfortunate monarch would not have been much better, becauſe he would have been in the hands of the conſtitutionaliſts, who were not, certainly, able to defend themſelves within the kingdom againſt the anarchiſts, and who were equally inimical to all the combined powers. The king's heart is greatly to be praiſed for the reſolution of remaining, and his underſtanding merits praiſe alſo, if he only could have had the ſame reſolution, when the department of Paris, a few days after, propoſed to him, to quit his palace to take refuge in the aſſembly.

NOTE

NOTE L.

THE diſpoſition of La Fayette to enter into plots to carry off the king is of very little importance, merely as being a proof of his perſonal ambition, of which thoſe who knew much about him never doubted; but it is a clear proof that La Fayette, and thoſe who acted with him, were, and had been all along, actuated by perſonal motives, and that oppreſſion towards the king only diſpleaſed them when it came from others, and not from themſelves. What was the difference between the elopement of the royal family now and when La Fayette aided to treat the king with ſuch ſeverity on his return from Varennes? The king had not, on the former period, taken the oath, and now he had taken it. His liberty had been juſt as much infringed upon when the people refuſed to let him go to St. Cloud as it had been on the 20th of June, and perſonally he had been as much inſulted, and the queen ſtill more. The only difference that can be ſeen was the poſition of La Fayette and his friends; on the former occaſion they were in power, and now they were not; they then ruled, and now they plotted. It is juſt what all the Jacobins have done from the beginning to the preſent moment, and when we ſee La Fayette acting ſuch a part, we are ready to ſuppoſe, that if circumſtances had demanded, in order to acquire power, he would have entered into the convention and fallen with the Briſſotines. La Fayette was never much eſteemed in America, but he took great care to receive Thomas Paine, Mr. Barlow, and all the other Americans who came to Paris, at his table, and by that means he had

ſo

ſo many trumpeters. If, therefore, we may judge of him by his friends, he was a republican in his principles, and only affected to be a royaliſt, becauſe he found it moſt likely to ſatisfy his own ambitious views.

NOTE M.

SOON after the king came to the aſſembly, a note from the mayor arrived to inform the preſident, that he was conſigned in his own houſe, and could not come to the aſſembly.

The aſſembly anſwered this note in a ſtyle of oriental flattery and adulation, as follows:

" If the firſt of the conſtituted authorities is yet " reſpected; if the repreſentatives of the people, friends " to their happineſs, have any aſcendant over them, " or preſerve their confidence, they beg the citizens, " and command them, in the name of the law, to lift " the conſign at the mayory, and to allow to appear " before the eyes of the people the magiſtrate whom " the people cheriſhes."

To this addreſs was added another to the people.

" In the name of the nation, in the name of liberty, " in the name of equality, all the citizens are invited " to reſpect the rights of man, liberty, and equality."

Both theſe addreſſes were ordered to be printed and placarded through the city.

A deputation of one of the ſections of Paris arrived immediately after.

" We adhere," ſaid they, " to the deſire manifeſted " by the municipality, for the decheance of the king. " Receive, legiſlators, with that declaration the teſti- " mony of our confidence, but dare to ſwear that you " will ſave the republic."

All the members roſe up and exclaimed, " We ſwear " to ſave the empire."

Addreſſes came in from all the ſections, and one from the municipality of which Huguenin was the orator; the ſame who had harangued the king on the 20th of June.

Another orator arrived, (an artillery man of the national guards) who ſpoke in the name of *the people*; covered with blood and filth, he offered, as a preface to his petition, to murder the king, if it were neceſſary; and then added, " you muſt know, that the palace is on " fire, and that we will not ſtop the flames until the " vengeance of the people is ſatisfied. I am charged, yet " once more, *to demand the decheance of the executive power.*"

The aſſembly had already taken the hint, and now was prepared to do whatever the people ordered, accordingly the following decrees were paſſed immediately.

The

The national aſſembly, conſidering that the dangers of the country are arrived at their greateſt degree;

That it is the moſt ſacred duty of the legiſlative body to employ every means of ſaving it, and that it is impoſſible to find any efficacious means of ſo doing, unleſs the ſources from which theſe evils flow are ſtopped;

Conſidering that theſe evils ariſe principally from the miſtruſt inſpired by the conduct of the executive power, in a war undertaken in his name againſt the conſtitution and the national independence;

That this miſtruſt has induced different portions of the empire to teſtify the deſire of ſeeing the powers entruſted to Louis XVI. withdrawn;

Conſidering, at the ſame time, that the legiſlative body ought not to augment its own power, and will not do ſo by any uſurpation;

That in the extraordinary circumſtances in which it is placed by unforeſeen events, it cannot reconcile the unalterable duty which it owes to the conſtitution, with its firm reſolution to ſink under the ruins of the temple of liberty rather than to let it periſh, by any other method than having recourſe to the ſovereignty of the people, and taking, at the ſame time, the precautions neceſſary to prevent ſuch recourſe to the people from being illuſive, decrees what follows:

Art. I. The French people is invited to form a NATIONAL CONVENTION; the extraordinary commiſ-

ſion will preſent to-morrow a plan for that purpoſe, indicating the mode and the time for that convention.

Art. II. The chief of the executive power is proviſionally ſuſpended from his functions, until the convention ſhall determine on the meaſures to be taken for aſſuring the ſovereignty of the people, and the reign of liberty and equality.

Art. III. The extraordinary commiſſion ſhall preſent within the day, the new organization of the miniſtry. The preſent miniſters are continued till then.

Art. IV. The extraordinary commiſſion ſhall preſent likewiſe a plan for naming a governor for the Prince Royal.

Art. V. The payment of the civil liſt is ſuſpended until the convention ſhall have deliberated. The extraordinary commiſſion ſhall, within the firſt twenty-four hours, give in a plan for the allowance to be paid to the king during his ſuſpenſion.

Art. VI. The regiſters of the civil liſt ſhall be depoſed on the table of the national aſſembly, after being examined by two commiſſaries who ſhall be named for that purpoſe, and who ſhall go to the houſe of the intendant of the civil liſt.

Art. VII. The king and his family ſhall remain under the roof of the legiſlative aſſembly, until tranquillity ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed in Paris.

Art. VIII. The department ſhall give orders within the day to have apartments prepared in the Luxembourg for

for their reception, where they ſhall be placed under the ſafe-guard of the law and of the citizens.

Art. IX. Every public functionary, ſoldier, non-commiſſioned officer, or officer, who ſhall abandon his poſt, is declared infamous, and a traitor to his country.

Art. X. The department and municipality of Paris ſhall cauſe the preſent decree to be ſolemnly proclaimed.

Art. XI. Extraordinary meſſengers ſhall be ſent to the eighty-three departments, with copies of this proclamation; and within twenty-four hours after, they ſhall be obliged to have the ſame proclaimed formally by the reſpective municipalities.

The royal family was preſent in the aſſembly all this time, and whatever abſtract theoriſts may think, this circumſtance adds not a little to the indignation which the conduct of this aſſembly, which was equally cruel and cowardly, inſpires.

To appeaſe the people, the following proclamation was ordered to be placarded immediately:

The king is ſuſpended; he and his family remain as hoſtages.

The preſent miniſters do not enjoy the confidence of the nation; the aſſembly is occupied in replacing them.

The civil liſt is ſuſpended.

NOTE N.

IN conſequence of the preſſure of petitions from all parts, miniſters were named according to a ſeries of arrangements, which miniſters were to act as king. The miniſter of juſtice (Danton) was empowered to place the great ſeal during the ſuſpenſion of the king, but the republican party cried out, that the form of a great ſeal being royal was uſeleſs and improper, the decree was annulled, and it was determined that all acts ſhould be publiſhed without any preamble, and ſigned by the miniſter of juſtice, in the name of the nation

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NOTE O.

ON the 14th of July, inſurrection againſt an hereditary monarch was the theme, but it was not till the 10th of Auguſt that it was found that the ſame weapon might be turned againſt the conſtitution of their own making. This conſequence had long been foreſeen by many perſons, but now became evident to all. Thoſe who had any remainder of principle or good intention, were in deſpair after the 10th of Auguſt; they ſaw then that all their work was to do over again, and the proſpect for inſurrection ſeemed boundleſs; for if the conſtitution which had been ſo much adored, and to which ſo many oaths of fidelity had been taken, could be deſtroyed between nine o'clock and eleven in the forenoon, what could be expected to be preſerved?

The

The wretched ſtate of public credit, and of individuals likewiſe, rendered the proſpect of a ſecond revolution a very diſmal one.

NOTE P.

THE manner in which the conſtitution was done away, is the beſt commentary that can poſſibly be made on the conduct of the conſtituent aſſembly; the conſecration of inſurrection, and the right of changing the conſtitution, on one hand; and on the other, endeavouring to fetter their followers with regard to any changes of conſtitutional articles. Every bad combination in affairs of importance leads to misfortune; and certainly there is no difficulty in tracing the 10th of Auguſt to the imperfections of the conſtitution. A king with too little power, and inſurrection legalized; with a legiſlative aſſembly, compoſed of ambitious, intriguing men, who longed for the moment that they ſhould be able to throw off the fetters which the conſtitution had cramped them with. The reception given to the deputations of thoſe who had demanded the decheance of the king, when there was no mob at the door of the aſſembly, as well as their cruel conduct to him after. The flattering proclamation about Petion the magiſtrate, whom the people cheriſhed, added to the facility and quickneſs with which the decrees were paſſed, all join to prove, that the aſſembly was as ready to deſtroy the conſtitution, as the people were to demand its deſtruction.

NOTE Q.

BEFORE the maſſacre took place, it had been determined on ſo decidedly, that three hundred livres had been given to the grave-digger of St. Sulpice, to pre-prepare at Mont-rouge, a mile out of town, a large grave, in which their bodies might be interred.

Manuel ſeems to have been a particularly active agent in this, and the other maſſacres, for he had been to take M. de Beaumarchais from the priſon of the Abbey, where he was confined two days before the maſſacre, and had told the *Traiteur* who ſent victuals to the priſoners at the Carmelites, to get his bill quickly paid, for that all the priſoners would ſoon be diſpoſed of.

It is clear that Manuel and Petion acted both before and after this in concert. It is equally certain, that Petion and the party of Briſſot acted together both before and after this; therefore there can be no ſort of reaſon for making a diſtinction between them as to criminality.

The bodies of the perſons maſſacred in the other priſons, were thrown into the ſtone quarries that are near Paris. It is ſingular enough, that Petion and ſuch of his friends as eſcaped the guillotine in Paris, about ſix months after, ſaved themſelves from the people ſent to arreſt them, *in the ſtone quarries* near Bourdeaux.

The

The moſt ſhocking thing, however, in theſe maſſacres, is certainly the facility with which the inſtigators of them found executioners. Charles the Ninth did not every where find obedience when he ordered the St. Bartholomew; and the murderers of Admiral Colligni ſtarted back with horror, and heſitated, though they were obliged at the riſk of their lives to obey. The murderers of the biſhops and prieſts felt no ſuch check in their career; they were not compelled by any force to be cruel, nor reſtrained by any principle from being ſo. This is perhaps the beſt anſwer that can be given to thoſe philoſophers who are at ſuch pains to ſhew that the human heart is degraded by the ſhackles of religious prejudice, and elevated by getting rid of it. Certainly if there is any difference between murderers, it is in favour of thoſe who acted under the miſtaken influence of religion, to thoſe who acted under the miſtaken influence of philoſophy.

In its proper place it had been mentioned, that the clergy of Paris had been particularly charitable during the ſevere winter of 1788. Amongſt the prieſts murdered at the Carmelites, were many of thoſe very men; amongſt their murderers were, very probably, ſome who had received their help; and if not, Paris at leaſt contained thouſands of perſons who had, and who now might have protected them, for the ſans culottes run no riſk in protecting any perſons they pleaſed; and it was the indigent of 1788 who were become the rulers in 1792, ſo that they might literally be ſaid to be murdering their benefactors.

NOTE

NOTE R.

AMONGST the different accounts of the maſſacres, none is more intereſting than that of M. de St. Meard, formerly captain in the regiment du Roi, who was arreſted as editor of a journal. He was one of the perſons who felt what he deſcribed, and without following him completely through what he with great propriety calls his *Agony*, nothing can give a better idea of the horror of the ſcene, than ſome extracts from it in his own words.

After having been arreſted and carried to the mayor's houſe on the 22d of Auguſt, M. de St. Meard had been conducted to the priſon of the Abbey, where he remained amidſt a number of unfortunate men like himſelf, confined in what had formerly been the chapel of the priſon.

"On the 2d of September," ſays he, "the door-
"keeper brought our dinner at an earlier hour than
"uſual. His diſtracted looks and haggard appearance
"made us preſage ſomething ſiniſter. At two o'clock
"he returned, we crowded around him, but he was
"deaf to all our queſtions, and after he had, contrary
"to cuſtom, gathered up all the table knives and forks,
"he made the nurſe of the wounded Swiſs officer, *Re-*
"*ding*, quit the apartment.

"At half paſt two o'clock, the terrible noiſe which
"the people made in the court, and in the ſtreet, was

" augmented by the drums, the cannon of alarm, and " the tocsin.

" We now saw three carriages pass by, escorted by " an immense mob of men and women, who cried furi- " ously *to the force, to the force*; (that was to death.) " They were then conducted to the cloister of the Ab- " bey, where they were shut up along with other " priests, and in a few minutes after we were informed, " that all the bishops and ecclesiastics who had been " confined there were massacred.

" Towards four o'clock, the piercing cries of a man " whom they were hacking in pieces with sabres, drew " us to the window of a small tower, from whence we " saw the body of a man extended lifeless on the pave- " ment. Presently after another was massacred, and " so they continued to go on.

" It is impossible to express the horror of the deep " and gloomy silence that reigned during these execu- " tions; it was only interrupted by the cries of those " whom they immolated with strokes of sabres on the " head. When the victim fell, a murmur arose, at- " tended with the cries of *vive la nation*, a thousand " times more frightful to us still than the horrors of the " silence.

" During the interval between the massacres, we " heard people saying distinctly, 'we must not let one " escape, we must kill them all, and particularly those " who are in the chapel, where there are none but con- " spirators.' It was of ourselves that they spoke, and

" we

" we would gladly have changed places with thoſe who " were in the darkeſt dungeons.

" At five o'clock a number of voices called M. " *Cazotte*,* and an inſtant after we heard a great crowd " on the ſtairs, the clattering of arms, and the cries of " men and women. It was the old man whom they " were dragging along, followed by his daughter; " when he was out at the door, that courageous young " woman threw herſelf on the neck of her father, and " the people, touched with the ſight, demanded and " obtained his pardon.

" About ſeven in the evening, two men entered with " bloody hands, and armed with ſabres, conducted " by the door-keeper, who ſhewed them the bed of the " Swiſs officer, *Reding*. At that moment I held him " by the hand, and was trying to comfort him. One " of theſe men made a motion to carry him off, but " the miſerable victim anſwered, 'Ah, Sir, I have ſuf- " fered enough, I don't fear death, have mercy upon " me, and kill me here!' Theſe words prevented that " perſon from ſaying any thing more, but his compa- " nion ſaid, come along; he put *Reding* then on his " ſhoulders, and carried him into the ſtreet, where he " received his death.

" The ſame horrors and anxiety continued without " intermiſſion, when next day at ten o'clock, M. " *l'Abbé Lanfant*," continues St. Meard, " the king's

* M. Cazotte, author of *Olivier*, *le Diable Amoureux*, &c. he was a virtuous old man, and quite inoffenſive; he was executed ſoon after by order of the municipality.

" con-

" confeſſor, and another clergyman, appeared in the " tribune of the chapel, and announced to us that our " laſt hour approached, and invited us to draw near to " receive their benediction. An electrical movement, " which cannot be defined, threw us all upon our " knees, and with our hands joined, we received it. " That moment, though conſoling, was one of the " moſt awful we had yet ſuffered. On the brink of " eternity, and about to appear before the Supreme " Being, kneeling before two of his miniſters, we pre- " ſented an appearance which cannot be deſcribed. " The great age of the two venerable men, their poſi- " tion, and death hanging over our heads, and ſur- " rounding us on all ſides; every thing joined to ren- " der that ceremony awful and auguſt; it brought us " nearer to the Divinity, and gave us courage; all rea- " ſoning was ſuſpended, and the coldeſt and moſt in- " credulous was as much impreſſed as thoſe who had " the moſt ardour and ſenſibility. In one half hour " afterwards theſe two prelates were maſſacred, *and we* " *heard their cries.*

" What man will read the following details, with- " out his eyes being filled with tears, without feeling " himſelf chilled with horror and diſmay!

" Our moſt important occupation was to diſcover " what would be the poſition in which we ought to " ſtand, in order to receive death with the leaſt pain. " We ſent from time to time one of our number to the " window of the ſmall tower, to examine the poſition " of the victims which they were ſlaughtering, and to " determine after that, which would be beſt for our- " ſelves to take. They informed us, that thoſe who

" held

" held up their hands, ſuffered much and long, becauſe " the ſlaſhes of the ſabres were deadened before they " ſtruck the head; that there even were of thoſe whoſe " hands and arms fell before their bodies, and that " thoſe who placed their hands behind the back ſuf- " fered leaſt. Well! it was on ſuch horrible details " that we deliberated; we calculated the advantages " of that latter poſition, and admoniſhed each other " reciprocally to take it when our turn to be maſſa- " cred ſhould arrive!!!*

" Towards midnight the executions ſeemed to have " diminiſhed, when an orator in the ſtreet demanded " attention from the people, and we heard him diſ- " tinctly ſay, 'The prieſts and conſpirators who re- " main, have bribed the judges: behold the reaſon " why they have given over judging.' Scarcely had " he finiſhed when the noiſe of maſſacring begun, and " the cries and agitation of the people became terrible. " Three of our companions were dragged out which " made me feel that my laſt hour was at hand.

" At laſt, after having ſuffered thirty-ſeven hours of " an agony, incomparably worſe than death; after " having drunk a thouſand and a thouſand times of " the bitter cup, my priſon opens, and I am called. " I appear. Three men ſeized me, and dragged me to " the terrible paſſage.

" By the light of the torches I perceived the terrible " tribunal, which was to give me death or life; the

* The deſcription of M. de St. Meard goes on in the ſame manner till the morning of Wedneſday at one o'clock. This recital, ſo intereſting is, however, too long for the preſent work.

" pre-

" preſident in a grey coat, a ſabre by his ſide, ſtanding " and leaning on a table, upon which were papers, a " writing-deſk, ſome pipes, and bottles. Round the " table were ten perſons, ſitting and ſtanding, two of " whom were in waiſtcoats and aprons; others were " aſleep upon benches. Two men in their ſhirts, " ſtained with blood, ſabre in hand, guarded the door; " an old jailor held the bolt in his hand; three men " were then holding a priſoner, about ſixty years of " age, before the preſident. I was placed in a corner, " my two guardians croſſing their ſabres on my breaſt, " informed me, that on the ſmalleſt movement to eſ- " cape, they would ſtab me. A letter from the ſection " of the *Croix Rouge*, in favour of the priſoner, was " delivered to the preſident, who anſwered, that de- " mands in favour of traitors were uſeleſs. The pri- " ſoner then exclaimed, that's terrible, your judg- " ment is an aſſaſſination. The preſident then an- " ſwered, I waſh my hands of it, conduct M. Maillé. " Theſe words were no ſooner ſpoke, than he was " puſhed into the ſtreet, where, through an opening in " the door, I ſaw him maſſacred.

" The preſident ſat down to write (probably) the " name of the miſerable victim, which, having done, " he ſaid—To another.

" Immediately I was dragged before this bloody " and expeditious tribunal; two of my conductors " held me by the two hands, and a third by the collar " of my coat."

The

The relation of the interrogatories that paſt is very intereſting, but long; St. Meard was acquitted, partly becauſe one of the attendants of the priſon was from the ſame province, and protected him, and partly becauſe he defended himſelf with energy and ingenuity, and even gaiety; but it ſeems clear, that juſtice was not the reaſon, as numbers had been maſſacred, againſt whom even being a royaliſt could not be proved. A ſoon as St. Meard appeared in the ſtreet, the populace having been previouſly informed of the acquittal of a priſoner, one of his conductors cried, off with your hats, citizens, behold the man for whom the judges demand aid and aſſiſtance. When theſe words were pronounced, the executive power (the murderers) placed him between four torches, where he was embraced by all thoſe who ſurrounded him. All the ſpectators cried out, *vive la nation.* He was then put under the protection of the people, who let him paſs, accompanied by three deputies, whom the preſident had ordered to conduct him home. One of theſe deputies was a maſon, the other an apprentice to a barber, and the third a fœderat. When they had conducted him home, they refuſed to receive any money, and accepted only of a glaſs of brandy, ſaying, that they did not do that buſineſs for money.

This cruelty, parade of juſtice, of humanity, and diſintereſtedneſs, is inconceivable; the men who would have maſſacred him, embraced him, and out of veneration were obliged to take off their hats. It appears evident, that the leaders of all this meant to vindicate their horrible proceedings, in caſe it ſhould afterwards be neceſſary; and horrible as this relation is, it may be con-

conſidered as a vindication of the tribunal, elſe its author durſt not have publiſhed it.

The maſſacre at the Bicetre was without any form of judgment at all.

NOTE O. 2.

THE miſeries that have all along accompanied the revolution, rendered it neceſſary to find out an object of hatred, on whom thoſe who wiſhed to rule might throw the blame. A diviſion of opinion was natural enough amongſt ambitious men, who could not bear rivals in power, the court, however, ſerved as an object for the hatred of the people, till it no longer exiſted; the parties therefore now from neceſſity carried their hatred againſt each other to violent lengths, as there was no alternative but that of confeſſing that they were all in the wrong, or elſe attributing the miſeries to one party only.

The Briſſotins wiſhed to get the convention removed from Paris; Robeſpierre, on the contrary, who felt that all his power was derived from the mob of Paris, and the Jacobin club, was obliged therefore to quarrel with them from neceſſity, and inclined to do it from intereſt; each employed his means, Robeſpierre that of a Pariſian mob, and Briſſot that of an appeal to the people, both of which prove that inſurrection was the principal cauſe of the miſeries of France.

NOTE P. 2.

SOME extracts from Briſſot's Appeal to his Conſtituents, as they are extremely concluſive in themſelves, and come from a man who was ſo active a leader, deſerve being noticed in a particular manner.

" The laws without execution; the conſtituted au-
" thorities impotent and diſgraced; crimes unpuniſhed;
" property of every kind attacked; perſonal ſafety
" violated; the morals of the people corrupted; no
" conſtitution; no government; no juſtice. Such are
" the true features of this anarchy."

" I was of opinion that all inſurrection could not
" but be fatal to the people, and to liberty, ſince it
" could be directed only againſt the repreſentatives of
" the people.

" I conceived that this *doctrine of eternal inſurrection*
" muſt draw after it pillage and maſſacres, which muſt
" weary out and diſguſt the nation with the republican
" form of government."

" Liberty might ſo eaſily have found no other boun-
" daries than thoſe of the world, and now ſhe muſt
" ſorrowfully confine herſelf within the limits of
" France."

" You will ſee them convinced that the goodneſs of
" laws muſt depend upon the ſobriety with which they
" are

" are deliberated upon, and that the reſpect for the law " depends alſo upon the reſpect in which the legiſlator " himſelf is held."

" They are the men who, for the perpetuation of " their own power, finding it neceſſary to perpetuate " diſorders, have divided ſociety into two claſſes, thoſe " who have ſomething, and thoſe who have nothing, " the *ſans culottes* and *the men of property*; who have ex- " cited one of theſe claſſes againſt the other; who, in " order to ruin the latter claſs, wanted to have an " army compoſed excluſively of perſons, all of the for- " mer claſs, and paid *compulſorily* by the latter, and this " army has been decreed."

" Is it not farther the ſad concluſion that muſt be " drawn, when we bring to mind all the uſurpations " of power, all the violations of law, of which the " municipality and the ſections of Paris have been " conſtantly rendering themſelves guilty ſince the " 10th of Auguſt, and which have always remained " unpuniſhed? For which of the laws is it that they " carried into execution?"

" When one ſees this municipality, in ſpite of de- " crees, ſhut the barriers and the play-houſes at their " pleaſure, forbid ſuch or ſuch pieces, ſuch or ſuch " journals, order to their bar the deputies, generals, " and miniſters, enjoin them to diſmiſs certain ſub- " altern functionaries, and ſend inquiſitorial commiſ- " ſaries to their houſes to watch over the execution of " their decrees."

" What do I ſay? No! it is not in the commo-
" nalty of Paris that the exerciſe of the national ſove-
" reignty reſides. *It reſides in a club, or rather in a*
" *ſcore of thoſe robbers who direct that club*; who oblige
" all the authorities that are conſtituted by the nation
" to bend under them.

" It is there, it is in that club where the anarchiſts
" of the convention domineer. It is there that the de-
" crees are fabricated which are to come upon them
" with the force of a command. It is there, that under
" the title of petitions or addreſſes, orders are fabrica-
" ted which are intimated to them. It is in that ware-
" houſe of calumny, that they every day diſorganize
" every thing, the miniſtry, the adminiſtration, and
" the army. It is from thence that the deputies, the
" miniſters, and the generals, are called upon to make
" their appearance before them, and humbly bend the
" knee. It is there that they give in their accounts,
" that they make their anſwers to the denunciations
" againſt them. It is there that they pay obedience to
" the decrees of the club, who expel or condemn their
" ſubalterns. It is there that, occupied in accuſing the
" Girondins of governing every thing, of uſurping
" every thing, the leaders of the club, drawing to
" themſelves all authority, govern all, carry off all
" money, bargains, places, commiſſions, nominations
" to tribunals, &c. &c.

" It is from thence, that the orders go to the revolu-
" tionary tribunal, to remove, to condemn, or ab-
" ſolve. It is there that the *accuſer of this tribunal*
" complains that blood is not ſhed in ſufficient abun-
" dance. It is there that the jurymen of this tribunal
" promiſe

" promiſe very ſoon to bring to the ſcaffold the heads " of thoſe deputies who are enemies to the Jacobins."

" Yes, I declare, from the deep conviction of my " ſoul, that as long as there exiſts no power able to " repreſs the crimes of the leaders of the Jacobins, " there can exiſt no convention, no government. All " the powers are neceſſarily with the club. There is " the legiſlative body; or rather, there is the body above " the law—above all, the conſtituted authorities. " *There is the abſolute power of France.*"

" Bournonville, on entering upon his adminiſtra- " tion, and after having examined the ſtate of the ex- " penſes, has declared that there was a ſum of one " hundred and ſixty millions (about ſix millions ſter- " ling) of the expenditure, of which there appeared no " particulars. Cambon ſaid to the committee in the " roſtrum, that it was impoſſible to bring the expendi- " ture of that department to light; that a ſponge muſt " be drawn over it."

" You will ſee the proviſions every where paid for " two or three times over, warehouſes hired at an ex- " ceſſive price, battalions, though reduced to a third or " a ſixth, ſtill paid for at their full complement."

" *I am ſatisfied that I have fully proved that the anar-* " *chiſts, under the name of the Jacobins of Paris, of the* " *municipality of the ſections, have governed, and do go-* " *vern the convention, the executive power, and all the* " *adminiſtrations, and conſequently that they govern the* " *whole empire.*"

" But war with England, with Holland, and with " Spain, has changed the face of affairs, and it has ſtop- " ped the courſe of our victories. Then what has occa- " ſioned this laſt war? There are three cauſes of it:

" 1ſt. The abſurd and impolitic decree of the 19th " of November, which very juſtly excited uneaſineſs in " foreign cabinets; a decree which men of knowledge " oppoſed in vain; a decree brought to nothing by the " anarchiſts themſelves, who had puſhed it on with " rage: it was brought to nothing after a fatal experi- " ence; but this was done too late, ſince the miſchief " had already been produced.

" 2d. The maſſacres of the 2d of September, the im- " punity of which, commanded by the anarchiſts, has " alienated from us all neutral nations.

" 3d. The death of Louis."

" What did enlightened republicans think before the " 10th of Auguſt, men who wiſhed for liberty, not " only for their own country, but for all Europe? " They believed that they could generally eſtabliſh " it, by exciting the governed againſt the governors, " in letting the people ſee the facility and the advan- " tages of ſuch inſurrections."

" But they would proſcribe all ſtock-jobbing.— " Why, then, did not Cambon ſhut up the exchange " ſooner, as Claviere has been inceſſantly requiring " ſince 1791? It was going ſtrait to the very ſource of " the evil. Why, after having himſelf confeſſed that " ſtock-jobbing could only be combated by counter-

" ſtock-

" ſtock-jobbing; why, after having confeſſed that " ſtock-jobbing ſo prodigiouſly raiſed the price of ſpe- " cie, why did they not grant to the executive council " ſome millions for the operations of a bank for raiſing " exchange?"

" How can you expect, that in this uncertain and " wavering ſtate in which you are, foreign powers can " conſent to treat with a convention, which is every " day dragged through the dirt; becauſe it is the loweſt " diſgrace to treat with an executive power, which " is without intermiſſion denounced, humiliated, and " tottering."

" But foreign powers who would treat *with us in the* " *actual ſtate that we ſtand in, could they entertain a* " *ſimilar hope?* No, they ſay—France is divided by " factions. One triumphs to-day. To-morrow it " will be the triumph of another. If you treat with " one, the other will break the treaty. There is no " ſtability. Let us wait for that ſtability, and then we " will treat."

" It is madneſs or imbecility itſelf to reckon upon a " peace, or upon allies, while we are without a conſti- " tution. *There is no making an alliance, there is no* " *treating with anarchy.* To treat with men, who have " not the power to arreſt the guilty, who inſult them " at their door, or the women, who in ſpite of their " teeth, exerciſe the police of their precinct, or the Ja- " cobins, who haughtily ſubſcribe their contingent of " heads to be cut off."

" Anarchiſts, robbers! you may now ſtrike; I " have done my duty; I have told truths that will " ſurvive me; truths which will at leaſt efface the " diſgrace with which you would wiſh to cover my " name; truths that will prove to all France that " good men have conſtantly exerted their whole " ſtrength to open the eyes of France, and to preſerve " her liberty."

NOTE Q. 2.

THE miſcellaneous articles which belong to no part of the work in particular, but which ſerve to illuſtrate the whole, as ſerving to make known the ſtate of France, may not be improper, though given without any regular order.

The decrees concerning the changes in the calendar, the denomination and diviſion of the days and months, ſerved to give the people a romantic ſort of enthuſiaſm, to make a volatile nation naturally fond of change, admire its repreſentatives, and forget its ancient habits.

The invention of new words, to expreſs meaning, was often employed to render palatable to the people, what under its old name would have been too obnoxious. This is of more importance with the multitude than one is aware of at firſt, for ignorant men are governed by ſounds. The royal power was brought into contempt by being called the executive power, and

murderers were rendered leſs deteſtable by giving to them the ſame title. We have thus ſeen a perpetual change of names, even of towns, ſections and diſtricts; and this begun with the revolution, and continued from the time that the ſtates general were called a national aſſembly, and that the title of provoſt of the merchants was changed for that of the mayor of Paris. By the laſt accounts we have from France, names have perpetually been changing. The great uſe made of names or epithets, to produce diſguſt, or excite ridicule, is a proof that mankind at all times, and in all places, may be acted upon by this device, though it does not always ſucceed. M. d'Orleans, for inſtance, was unſucceſsful in taking the title of *Egalité*; and the clockmaker, who called himſelf *Brutus*, as well as another citizen, who changed the name of Le Roi for that of *Dix Aôut*, were only turned into ridicule.

But this changing of names had a mighty effect in overturning the ideas of the populace, and it is not to be wondered at, if the great number ſucceeded againſt the ſmall in this conteſt of ridicule. Sans culotte was at firſt an epithet of contempt given to the ragged vagabonds, who collected in groups round the hall of the aſſembly, and in other public places. The people were at firſt much offended at that, but finding they could not get rid of the name, they took it up with good humour, and finiſhed, by enforcing reſpect to it from thoſe who at firſt intended it as mockery.

The different ſections of Paris, which had been at firſt named after ſome ſtreet, ſquare, or remarkable building in the ſection, had their names gradually changed to the ſection of unity, rights of man, William Tell,

red

red bonnet, &c. This is ſomething like the names given in the time of religious fanaticiſm in England, Pater-Noſter-Row, Amen Corner, &c.

Doctors were now called officers of health; Sir and You were changed for citizen. Weeks were abandoned, that decimal arithmetic might be applied to the counting of time. The family reigning had been called the dynaſty, and under that name of Chineſe origin, the people were taught to adopt doctrines about the deſtruction of the royal family, which, under the uſual terms of language, would have been attended with horror in the firſt times of the revolution. In all countries the care taken by phyſicians to employ words that are not generally underſtood, has a great effect on the vulgar, though it is with great propriety turned into ridicule by people of good ſenſe.

While the multitude were led aſtray by theſe names, their paſſions were courted; women were encouraged to go into the ſections, and have a deliberating voice, not a voting one, and they were encouraged to interfere in every public queſtion. As this is by no means diſpleaſing to French women, we accordingly find, that from the Baroneſs de Stael downwards (M. Necker's daughter, and the wife of the Swediſh ambaſſador) there were women who meddled in all the cabals. A woman of the town, Theroigne de Mericourt, long dictated to the galleries of the Jacobin club; ſhe received and held at her lodgings a cabal of violent democrats of the firſt aſſembly, and was a great patriot. Her laſt notable adventure was on the 10th of Auguſt, heading the aſſaſſins who maſſacred the young gentlemen that were taken priſoners during the night preceding.

It is not a matter of the leaſt doubt that women contributed greatly to the revolt at firſt, as well as to the atrocity and continuation of the revolution. From the firſt day when the king came to the Hotel de Ville at Paris, and when the fiſh-women forced all his ſervants to take the cockade till the end of the reign of Robeſpierre, women were employed to cabal, and to ſtir up diſturbance. Robeſpierre owed his firſt fame and reputation to ſome low women, who were known by the name of Robeſpierre's devotees; thoſe always were ready to applaud when he ſpoke in the aſſembly, or in the Jacobin club; the galleries followed the impulſe, and by degrees he acquired popularity.

The 5th of October, when the royal family was brought to Paris, was conducted by women, and a fiſh-woman who entered firſt into the queen's bed chamber, was complimented in honour of that worthy deed, with a ſword from the municipality of Paris, during the mayoralty of the virtuous Petion.

In order to gain to their party, ſcoundrels of all ſorts, the leading party, even in their firſt beginning, made motions in the aſſembly and in the club, that ſhewed ſuch men what a glorious career was opened to them by this revolution. In the end of the year 1790, when the revolution was yet very moderate, it was propoſed to call together all the ſoldiers who had been drummed out of their regiments *(ceux que avient reçu des cartouches jaunes)* and to form a brigade of them, as being excellent patriots, perſecuted for the love of liberty. This was too extravagant for that time, but might have ſucceeded very well afterwards. The forty rebellious ſoldiers who had been condemned to the galleys after the affair

of

of Nancy, were at laſt reclaimed by Collot d'Herbois and ſuch other patriots; they were ſet at liberty, received a large ſum of money, were feaſted publicly, and finally were to have made a public entry into Paris, on the ſame triumphal car that ſerved for the body of Voltaire when it was carried to the Pantheon. Inſtead of Voltaire's bed and dying apparatus, which had been in this car, twelve benches, elevated one above another, were placed for the galley ſlaves. A deputation of the national aſſembly, the judges of the tribunals, the municipality, and other conſtituted authorities, joined on the proceſſion, in honour of the perſecuted patriots, who, however, were themſelves aſhamed of the affair, and would not mount the car, ſo that the empty benches paraded along, drawn by twelve fine horſes, and preceded by all the magiſtrates of the people. The galley ſlaves, mixing in the crowd, ſhewed that they had more modeſty than the rulers of France. This happened at the ſame time that the cabals for the 20th of June, and 10th of Auguſt, were preparing.

The theatres were another means employed of elevating the minds of the people to madneſs. There were above thirty theatres of different ſorts open in Paris, where new pieces were repreſented, all upon democratic principles, compoſed without taſte or moderation. The minds of the people were thus actually thrown into a ſtate, ſuch as could not but lead to exceſs and to extravagance. Before the 10th of Auguſt, there were in Paris ſo many public aſſemblies for imbibing democratical notions and violent principles, that there could be no poſſibility of avoiding an exploſion; they may be reckoned to a nearneſs, thus;

The

The national aſſembly, members and ſpectators, added together, - - - -	2000
The Jacobin club and galleries, - -	2400
Cordeliers' club, club of the Hal au Bled, and meetings of that ſort, - -	7000
Municipality of Paris, and ſpectators, -	800
Forty-eight ſections of Paris, ſometimes very numerous, and ſometimes only very few	24000
Total -	36200

Beſides this, the playhouſes, all private companies, and the groups in all public places, in all of which, politics, or political opinions were the ſubject, which attracted all attention. It was impoſſible that ſo violent a ſtate of things could remain long; it was very far from being either a natural ſituation, or an agreeable one, and accordingly thoſe who reckoned upon its duration, and upon controuling the ſtorm, have all been deceived.

NOTE R. 2.

Revolutionary tribunal, priſons, Le Bon, &c.

From the things brought againſt the revolutionary tribunal and the commiſſaries, as well as the proceedings at Nantz, it would appear, that though oppreſſion and cruelty altered their form a little, it was not very different throughout France.

At Dijon the Jacobin club had a revolutionary army at its orders, which coſt 250l. ſterling per month; and while the revolutionary ſoldiers pillaged and arreſted people, their wives and daughters filled the galleries of the club to applaud the moſt extravagant amongſt its orators.

Fou-

Fouquier Tinville proved, that he was obliged to bring before the revolutionary tribunal priſoners according to liſts received. As great numbers of people were accuſed in one block, and with a great many different ſorts of crimes at once, as witneſſes in their favour were not heard, and as a few hours ſerved to finiſh proceedings againſt any number, let it be ever ſo great, none could eſcape, except now and then one through protection or favour.

The deputies of Cambray accuſed Le Bon, the commiſſary of the convention, who had been ſent into that quarter, of having made the ſtreets run with blood: he was accuſed of keeping a condemned man four hours at the guillotine, while he read diſpatches of arbitrary impriſonments, ſeizing effects of priſoners without giving any account, and of having, by ſummary methods, put to death numbers of innocent perſons.

The Jacobin ſociety of Nimes confeſſed, that that city had been ruled as rigorouſly as if Robeſpierre in perſon had been there. "Bourdon, judge of the revo-
"lutionary tribunal," ſay the Jacobins, "has blown
"out his brains, having incurred the diſpleaſure of the
"ſociety for his attachment to Robeſpierre. The
"mayor, (Courbis) author of Liſts of Proſcriptions,
"who went each decade with a number of proſtitutes
"to dance *farandoles* round the permanent guillotine,
"is arreſted, and will be judged."

After the death of Robeſpierre the Jacobin ſocieties themſelves began to denounce his cruelties, although his agents were all choſen from theſe ſocieties, and the ſocieties

cieties were the protectors, the aiders, and abettors of his agents all through France. Talien had reaſon to call thoſe men camelions in politics, it was a true deſcription, but he ſhould have included himſelf amongſt the number.

Extract of the ſitting of the Jacobins on the 15th Auguſt, 1794.

Real.—" In order to make the regimen which is fallen, " odious, I think it neceſſary to unveil its diſguſting " effects; it is by painting the evils and oppreſſions " which were ſuffered in the priſons, that the in- " dignation of good citizens will be nouriſhed. I " leave to thoſe who have ſuffered thoſe proſecutions " the care of denouncing them, for my own part, I " ſhall only ſay what paſſed at the Luxembourg.

" A regimen of iron, a ſtate of death and ſad miſ- " truſt painted on all the countenances, and profoundly " engraved in their minds, on account of the ſpies " introduced amongſt them, of whom the occupation " was to make liſts and ſend them to the tribunal. " The phyſical and moral ſituation of the priſoners " ſhewed, that it was only *a wide grave* deſtined to " ſwallow up the living. We had at firſt a humane " jailor; his conduct diſpleaſed the tyrants; he was " dragged before the tribunal, from which he unac- " countably eſcaped. He was replaced by another, " whom I cannot call by a more proper name than " that of tiger; he beat and inſulted the priſoners " with the barbarity of a cannibal.

" One day he abuſed a gouty man, becauſe he could " not walk quick enough; another time he called

" down

" down a great number of priſoners, to carry them " before the tribunal; the miſerable victims took leave " of their companions, thinking they ſhould ſoon be " no more. A young man who was called down by " his ſurname, and afterwards by his Chriſtian name, " found there was a miſtake, that he had been called " in place of another; he explained his caſe to the " perſon ſent to carry them before the tribunal, who " demanded the real victim. The barbarous jailor an- " ſwered, *what does it ſignify, if this one don't die to-* " *day, he'll die to-morrow.*

" The priſoners in that terrible place were perpetu- " ally heſitating, whether it would not be better to " kill themſelves. I will give you a fact of this ſort— " A meſſenger of the name of Le Grand was arreſted; " he ſoon after was informed, that his wife was ar- " reſted likewiſe, and his four young children left " abandoned. He did nothing but weep and groan; " he ſought conſolation in complaining to all his com- " panions, and ſpoke of his misfortunes to the door- " keeper, who was a German, and who anſwered, *Have* " *patience, juſtice is juſt, truth is true, it is only a little mo-* " *ment of hardſhip to paſs over.*

" This miſerable man threw himſelf ſoon after from " the roof of the priſon.

" When there were priſoners, againſt whom there " was no accuſation, Fouquier Tinville uſed to ſay, " we muſt put them in *the firſt conſpiracy that we make.* " There were at the Luxembourg eight or ten indi- " viduals who were always called to the tribunal as

" wit-

" witneſſes, and who ſtiled themſelves *witneſſes by pro-*
" *feſſion.*

" The conſpiracies uſually amounted to thirty, forty,
" or fifty perſons, and one day to 156. The accuſer
" took care, when he made out the liſts, to leave blank
" ſpaces to be filled up with the names of thoſe who
" might arrive in the day to augment the number.
" What is moſt terrible is, that citizens who had been
" only fifteen days in priſon were included in conſpi-
" racies that were ſuppoſed to have exiſted long before
" their arrival.

" One of the witneſſes was frank enough to con-
" feſs, that one day having ſomething to witneſs in
" favour of an accuſed perſon, the preſident ſaid to
" him, *Hold your tongue, you are only to ſpeak when you*
" *have ſomething to ſay againſt the accuſed.*

" One day the adminiſtrators made a demand of 200
" perſons for the following decade, juſt as if it were
" to ſend ſheep to the ſlaughter.

" Another member of the club declared, that in the
" priſon of the Carmelites the injuſtices and cruelties
" were equally great."

NOTES.

THOSE who had been the agents or accomplices of the cruelties of Carrier at Nantz, were tried before the

revolutionary tribunal at Paris; as from every circumſtance their culpability is evident, a few extracts are all that it is ſufficient to give, on purpoſe to form an idea of the manner in which France is governed.

Different witneſſes, Lereque, Perochot, Haler, Joly, and Mainguet, confeſſed that they had participated in the horrible ſcenes and cruelties committed on the priſoners. They confeſſed they had ſigned orders for ſhooting and for drowning priſoners without any motive; 162 prieſts were pillaged of all their effects and ſtripped naked; their executioners divided the ſpoils amongſt themſelves. The moſt inſatiable avarice, unexampled ferocity, and immeaſurable ambition, a deſire of giving a ſcope to private vengeance, a ſingular taſte for licentious feaſts, are not the only things with which the members of the revolutionary committee are to be reproached; theſe monſters attacked the virtue of wives and daughters, and, to obtain mercy for fathers and huſbands, it was neceſſary to ſubmit to their ſenſual brutality. A company of troops, called the company of Marat, compoſed of the vileſt dregs of the people, was entruſted with the power of life and death, and exerciſed the moſt terrible and unheard-of cruelties.

Tronçon du Cronday, in pleading before the tribunal, ſays, "Many of the accuſed are ignorant, but not "guilty; you ought to ſhew all Europe, and the "coaleſced tyrants, what a true patriot is, and how "he is favoured by juſt laws."

One

One hundred fanatical prieſts,* ſays he, who ought to have been tranſported, were ſtripped naked, put into a boat with a valve that opened to let in the water, and were drowned. That boat has ſerved for many drownings. The new word of *Noyades* was invented to diſtinguiſh new crimes. That rigorous conduct has, perhaps, reduced the rebels of the Vendée to deſpair, and prolongued the war with them.

You will not forget, that Philippes Tronc Joly, who is accuſed, was the only one, during all this time, in the city of Nantz, who devoted himſelf to the good of his country, without fear of attacking the revolutionary committee.

On the 14th of Frimaire the revolutionary tribunal, of which Philippes was the preſident, condemned to death ſix conſpirators; their execution was delayed, and it was deliberated, whether it would not be better to put all the priſoners to death *en maſſe*. Philippes oppoſed himſelf to that, ſaying, that the priſoners muſt be judged, that he was their defender until ſuch time as the law found them guilty. Next day the committee deliberated again on making all the priſoners periſh in a maſs, Philippes again oppoſed it and withdrew. He was then called by Goulin *the contre revolutionary preſident*.

On the 13th arrived an order to ſhoot the priſoners, of whom not one had been condemned to death; twenty

* All this ſhews, that the pleader was by no means an ariſtocrat, but ought to be conſidered as a republican relating facts, and not led aſtray by contre revolutionary deſigns.

had only been impriſoned the night preceding, and ſome were already acquitted.

The temporary commandant of Nantz oppoſed himſelf to the execution of that order, and denounced it to the adminiſtrators.

On the 21ſt a new ſcene was acted at *the houſe of juſtice*. The committee had a Bacchanalian feaſt; Goulin pulled from his pocket a packet of ſtring, and approaching the priſoners tied their hands, and from thence they were conducted with ſtrokes of ſabres to the harbour; they went into the fatal boat, the valve is opened, and they are ſwallowed up.

Women with child were likewiſe ſwallowed up in the *Loire*; children of ſeven, eight, nine, and ten years of age ſhared the ſame fate. Some of the children were given away, others were drowned, apparently becauſe they conſidered them as young wolves, who in time might have fought againſt their tyrants.

Philippes oppoſes himſelf to theſe cruelties, but in vain. He is told, that the members of the committee, in order to have the appearance of juſtice, amuſe themſelves with drawing lots for the life and death of the priſoners. The white balls gave them life, and the black ones delivered them to the executioner.

In this manner periſhed innocent generations, without even any certificate of their death. Tell me, ſays he, barbarous men, how will you reſtore to the country, women who would have brought forth de-

fenders

fenders of liberty, and children who, in time, would have fought againſt the ſatellites of tyrants?

Philippes received orders on the 27th and 29th of Frimaire to guillotine fifty-five brigands ſeized with arms in their hands; he remonſtrated, and received more poſitive orders: amongſt thoſe brigands were children of thirteen and fourteen years of age, and ſeven women. The executioner died two days after with grief for having guillotined theſe women.

On the 25th Germinal, when too many truths were likely to come to light, Moreau de Grandmaiſon, a fencing-maſter and member of the revolutionary committee, threatened to denounce Philippes as a federaliſt; he was accordingly denounced, and ſent to the revolutionary tribunal at Paris, tied during the journey to a criminal who had been condemned to death.

I am informed that 144 women, *conſidered as ſuſpicious*, who were confined in Nantz, and who worked at making ſhirts for the ſoldiers of the country, were conducted to the fatal boat, and ſwallowed by the waves.

The quantity of dead bodies thrown into the Loire was ſo great, that the river was infected to ſuch a degree, as to make it neceſſary to forbid the uſe of its water to the inhabitants of Nantz, and to forbid them from fiſhing in it.

Sanguinary men have ſaid, that all this was done to ſave the country. Tiberius and Louis XI. thought that certain caſes required ſeverity, but their ſatellites never

never ventured to do ſuch things without the order of their maſters.*

It is ſufficient, citizens, to have thrown your eyes over the accuſers and the accuſed, to be convinced that it was the guilty who accuſed the innocent. But we ſhall know how to bind down thoſe ſanguinary men who wiſh to transform us into hangmen. Revolutionary juſtice excuſes error and protects innocence.

Philippes Tronc Joly, and his ninety-three companions of misfortune, were acquitted of contre revolutionary intentions and ſet at liberty.

Extracts of the trial of fourteen members of the above-mentioned revolutionary committee at Nantz.

ACT OF ACCUSATION.

" Michael Joſeph Lebbois, Jean Jaques Goulin, Pierre Cauz, &c. are ſent before the revolutionary tribunal of Paris, this 14th October (23d Vendemaire) as being accuſed of arbitrary proceedings, dilapidations, theſts, brigandages, abuſe of authority, and of having condemned people to death, as it appears from the interrogations which they have undergone, the declaration of witneſſes joined to the papers addreſſed to the public accuſer.

" All that the moſt barbarous cruelty, all that the moſt perfidious crime, all that the moſt arbitrary

* This is a true and very concluſive obſervation, ſingle tyrants are not near ſo formidable as thoſe numerous bands of murderers who have infected France.

" au-

authority, all that the moſt frightful *concuſſion*,* and all that the moſt revolting immorality can produce, compoſes the act of accuſation againſt the members and commiſſaries of the revolutionary committee of Nantz.

" In the hiſtory of the world, from the moſt ancient times, and in the moſt barbarous ages, it is ſcarcely poſſible to find any actions equal in atrocity to the horrors committed by the accuſed.

" Nero was leſs ſanguinary, Phalaris leſs barbarous, and Syphanes leſs cruel.

" Theſe immoral beings ſacrificed to their paſſions honour and probity; *they talked of patriotiſm*, but they ſtifled it; terror went before their ſteps, and tyranny was ſeated in the midſt of them.

" Liberty, the firſt of bleſſings, that ſweet preſent of Nature, which was re-eſtabliſhed in France after being baniſhed for many centuries; liberty had fled from the banks of the Loire; the uncertain traveller entered trembling into that city which firſt ſounded the tocſin of liberty; he no longer found it peopled with thoſe republicans who firſt dared to attack that frightful hydra which took refuge in the moraſſes of Brittany. He knew now no longer thoſe heroes who firſt planted the tree of liberty at Rennes. Nothing was to be ſeen but unfortunate fathers imploring for death, and diſtracted mothers

* I give the word as it is, not being certain what Engliſh word will anſwer it in the way that it is uſed.

calling for their children. Such was the work of the accuſed, who called themſelves the only patriots.

" Arbitrary taxation and horrible concuſſions had ruined the people of Nantz, commerce languiſhed, riches were a title of proſcription, and they coolly calculated the gain that they ſhould make by the death of their victims. Their hirelings marked with chalk the houſes of the victims of their cruel and forbid avarice, they ſeized on their riches and divided them amongſt themſelves. Nantz was not the only theatre of theſe crimes, the whole department was over-run by their emiſſaries. Fortune alone was not ſufficient for them to attack, the power of life and death was exerciſed, and perſons were ſent to the ſcaffold who had not been judged or even accuſed.

" All theſe atrocities were but the forerunners of greater crimes; impatient at the ſlowneſs of juſtice, the committee knew no longer any bounds to its cruel barbarity; it votes, itſelf, for death, and marks out its victims.

" The recital of the cruelties make nature ſhudder, and the orders which were given for their execution are in exiſtence.

" Never will the tooth of time efface the impreſſion made by thoſe atrocities; the river Loire will always roll with bloody waters, and the affrighted ſeaman will tremble when he ſets his foot on a land that is whitened with the bones of the victims of barbariſm.

" Innocent

"Innocent victims, infants ſcarcely delivered from the hand of nature, were condemned by thoſe new Caligulas, they were given up to the waves; the prayers of citizens could not touch the hearts of barbarians: Mainguet is the only one who declares to have ſaved near 500, whom he delivered over to the care of the inhabitants of the city unknown to the committee.

"Nero contemplated the fatal veſſel in which his mother was confined while it floated on the Tiber under his window. The members of the committee at Nantz wanted to imitate him, and cauſed a veſſel with a valve to be conſtructed deſtined to receive thoſe victims which chance ſhould point out, and oftener than once it ſerved their barbarity; they did not even keep their crimes to themſelves, and Mainguet declared, that they called theſe frightful expeditions *les baignades* (bathings); it was thus they named a crime which Nero bluſhed to have committed, *one ſingle time, on one ſingle perſon*, but which they, more cruel and more wicked, have committed, *many times, and on thouſands of miſerables*.

"Although there are no abſolute proofs of more than one expedition of this nature, by the confeſſion of ſeveral perſons accuſed, whom their conſciences, torn with remorſe, have forced to ſpeak, there were between *four and eight* of theſe executions; ſuch are their own words.

"The 139 individuals taken from the priſons, were only a part of thoſe proſcribed, the liſt contained 155; the copy of the liſt is joined to the accuſation.

"Intoxi-

"Intoxicated with blood and wine, they ſcarcely knew their victims, and their eyes refuſed to read the traces of their crimes.

"Such in ſubſtance are the crimes of the committee of Nantz, the horrors of which they may be accuſed collectively are of this deep dye. But, individually, and in private life, they were ſtill worſe; Goulin commanded deſpotically his colleagues, and anſwered to an unfortunate woman who aſked for intelligence concerning her huſband, *Well! what does it ſignify to me? the ſooner he is dead, the ſooner we ſhall have his riches.*

"Look over the life of Chaux, you will ſee him at the diſtrict frightening all his competitors, and obliging them to knock down to him the eſtate of Barroſſiere; you will hear him, in ſpeaking of ground that ſuited him, ſay, *I know how to poſſeſs it; I will have the proprietor arreſted, and to ſave his life he will give me his property.*

"Perrocheux bargains coolly for the liberty of citizens. The daughter of Bretonville ſolicited him for her father; for the price of his liberty, he demanded the ſacrifice of the honour of that intereſting young woman---He demanded of the female citizen, Ollemand Dudan, fifty-thouſand livres to ſave herſelf from priſon.

"The act of accuſation ſtates the other eleven criminals to be individually equally guilty, and brings particular charges againſt each. It then finiſhes.

"After the above declaration, the public accuſer has drawn up the preſent act of accuſation againſt the aforeſaid members and commiſſaries of the committee of Nantz, for having conſpired againſt the republic, the liberty and ſurety of the French people, contrary to article IV. of the 1ſt ſection of the firſt penal code, and the II. article of the 2d ſection of the ſaid code."

This act being read, witneſſes were called, and the following are ſome of their teſtimonies.

Lachenette, a doctor, declares as witneſs. The miſfortunes of Nantz may be dated from the inſtitution of the revolutionary committee compoſed of the worſt of characters. Carrier ſpoke from the tribune with a naked ſabre in his hand, and lighted up all the revengeful paſſions. I ought to ſpeak of a placard that appeared, forbidding in expreſs terms fathers, mothers, wives or children, to ſolicit for priſoners: it was thus that the revolutionary committee wanted to ſtifle the voice of nature, maternal ſolicitude, filial piety, and the affection of wives for their huſbands. I had alſo knowledge of a drowning of ninety prieſts. At firſt the drownings were done during the night; but when the committee became accuſtomed to the crime, they were executed by day: at firſt they drowned their victims with their clothes on; but, afterwards, in order to ſatisfy their cupidity, as well as their cruelty, the committee had their victims ſtripped naked. I muſt alſo ſpeak to you of the republican marriage, which conſiſted in binding a young man and a young woman together quite naked, and then throwing them into the water.

Preſident.

Preſident of the tribunal. Was you an eye witneſs to that revolting ſcene?

Lachenette. I did not witneſs the frightful ſpectacle, but the citizen Fratel, his family, and his neighbours, will atteſt the fact; thoſe who were to be drowned, were tied two and two by one hand and thrown in, in that ſituation. There are two perſons here who, after having been tied, eſcaped, and can certify the fact exactly.

The Preſident to the accuſed. Can you ſay whether thoſe who came to ſolicit were well received, and whether in conſequence of their memorials, you ſet any one at liberty?

Goulin, accuſed. I own that, naturally warm and burning with the zeal, perhaps too ardent and ill-underſtood, of the public good, not being able to guard againſt a certain hatred to ariſtocrats, who came in great numbers to ſolicit for priſoners, I have ſometimes been rough with them; but I was always ready to be juſt to innocent perſons, who recovered their liberty.

Preſident. Can you give an inſtance of one of the perſons you have ſet at liberty by the committee in conſequence of memorials preſented?

Goulin. There certainly were ſome ſuch, but I cannot remember them; and it is impoſſible for me *to name one.*

Preſident. The citizens acquitted who petitioned you, were they of the number of petitioners, and did you pay attention to their petitions?

Goulin.

Goulin. I have been told of their petitions, but it appears to me that there was no neceſſity of doing juſtice to them.

Preſident. Nevertheleſs, the citizens acquitted were only accuſed of being *Muſcadins*,* or ſome ſuch ſlight accuſation?

Goulin. Very few were confined for that cauſe; they were accuſed of being ſuſpected by the popular ſociety (the Jacobin club;) beſides, by the LAW of the 19th Frimaire, we had a right to impriſon them without any denunciation.

Preſident. Who ordered the purification of the priſons?

Goulin. Carrier in the moſt poſitive terms.

Preſident. But that purification could not be made but by liſts delivered by the committee to Carrier, who could only give his conſent.

Goulin. It was Carrier himſelf, who marked out for us the brigands taken with arms in their hands.

Preſident. How many priſoners periſhed in the priſons?

Goulin. About two thouſand.

Preſident. Who ordered the drownings?

* Muſcadins—Powdered and ſcented, or well-dreſſed people.

Goulin.

Goulin. Carrier gave the orders, on the 25th Frimaire 125 were drowned. There were other drownings, as I have been told, but I have no direct certainty. At that time the prisons were full of brigands, and the design of immolating the whole of those confined was fully justified by circumstances, since there was a report of a conspiracy in the prisons. I maintain that these measures, rigorous as they may appear, were necessary. Parisians! if you judged the 2d of September necessary, our position was, perhaps, still more delicate than your's: these drownings, revolting as they may appear to you, were not less indispensable than the massacre of the 2d of September, which you committed.

President. Learn to respect the Parisians; do them more justice; they are out of the reach of your calumny; know that the true Parisian has never been a Septemberizer. Can you say, if amongst those drowned there were any women?

Goulin. I assure the tribunal that there were none but men.

President. Look at this list which is signed by yourself, and which will convict you of imposture; it is a list of 155 persons, amongst whom are fifteen women. The punishment of deportation the 24th Frimaire is signed by you.

Goulin. I maintain, that at their deportation there were neither women nor children amongst them, and that they were taken away from the prison.

President. Is it, or is it not, your signature?

Goulin.

Goulin. I will not either avow or deny my hand-writing, but I never had an intention to make either women or children periſh.

Preſident. Rather ſay that there was an intention of ſaving them; but, before it was attempted to be put in execution, ſome were dead and others guillotined. Were you organized in conſtituted authorities for the drowning and deportations?

Goulin. That organization had not taken place; but we were guided by a liſt of conſpirators furniſhed by Hubert, by the clerk of the priſon, the accuſer to the revolutionary tribunal, and the jailor's wife. Behold our guarantees, after whom we were not afraid to ſtrike.

Preſident. Behold, indeed, a very authentic guarantee! There only wants one trifle for your defence, truth and probability.

The Preſident to the witneſs. Can you give us any preciſe information concerning the drownings and ſhootings?

Lachenette, witneſs. I have been witneſs of drownings done in the day, and can ſay, that men, women with child, girls, children, all without diſtinction, have been drowned, ſhot, or cut to pieces with the ſword, on the ſquare of the department, or other places; that the national guards had been employed during ſix weeks to cover up the holes dug for interring the people who were maſſacred. They were, it was ſaid, brigands, who had laid down their arms; the wives and daughters of priſoners.

Bachelier.

Bachelier, the accuſed. I invite the preſident to queſtion the witneſs concerning my moral conduct.

Lachenette. I knew Bachelier to be a humane man, but I can give no account of his *revolutionary morality.**

Many other witneſſes were heard, and the whole proceedings tended to prove the ſame facts; but that of Philippes Tronc Joly, preſident of the committee, is the moſt to the purpoſe.

Goulin ſays, he threatened to decimate the priſoners. There were twenty-three drownings, two of which conſiſted of prieſts.

Carrier had given to Faucault, a very criminal man, the power of life and death. Women with child, old men, children, all were drowned: it is reckoned more than ſix-hundred children periſhed in the waves. I had heard a great deal of the cruelty of Carrier, and I wiſhed to be aſſured of it by myſelf. I often invited him to ſup with me; at laſt he came on the 15th Frimaire. Carrier ſaid, on my obſerving to him that the impriſoned perſons were diſpatched with precipitation, "But are ſo many proofs neceſſary? you will very ſoon "ſee women ſanſculottiſed; it is the readieſt way to "throw them into the water." He meant to ſay, that women would ſoon figure alſo in the drownings.

On the 26th Frimaire Carrier gave orders to guillotine indiſtinctly thoſe who laid down their arms, and

* This ſhews that the witneſs was not any perſonal enemy to the accuſed; it ſhews alſo, that now there were two ſorts of morality in France.

thoſe

thoſe who were taken with arms. I aſked if he would ſign this order? he ſaid, there could be no objection. I obſerved to him, that there were children under age; Carrier perſiſted, nevertheleſs, to have all guillotined without exception. I contented myſelf with taking down the names, age, &c. of the individuals, and did nothing farther.

On all ſides people demanded of the committee the children who were impriſoned: at firſt the committee promiſed them, and then refuſed them, finding that drowning was by much the moſt expeditious.

The committee has received more than a million, of which it has given no account; it has contented itſelf with paying in ſeventy-three thouſand livres.

Thomas, witneſs. Having received an order from the committee to go and inſpect a number of women priſoners, who were ſuppoſed to be pregnant, I went to the *entrèpôt*, there I found a great number of dead bodies ſcattered here and there; I ſaw infants palpitating or drowned in troughs full of human excrements; I went acroſs large halls; my ſight frightened the women---they ſaw none but murderers; I explained my miſſion, and ſpoke to them the language of humanity; and declared by an act in writing the pregnancy of thirty amongſt them; ſeveral were ſeven or eight months advanced. Some days after I returned to ſee thoſe women whom their ſituation rendered ſacred and dear to humanity; I ſay it, my ſoul drowned in grief—thoſe unfortunate women had been precipitated into the waves! Theſe facts are cutting; they afflict

humanity; but it is my duty to declare the truth before this tribunal.

Eight hundred women, and as many children, had been depoſed in the houſes of *L'Eperonerie and La Mariliere*; but there were in thoſe priſons neither beds nor ſtraw nor matraſſes; the priſoners were in want of every thing. Dr. Rollin and myſelf ſaw five children periſh in leſs than four minutes. Theſe poor creatures received no food: we informed the women in the neighbourhood, and aſked if they could not afford them any aſſiſtance; they anſwered, "What can we do?---"Grandmaiſon impriſons all thoſe who carry food to "thoſe women and children."

I accuſe the whole committee of having delighted in impriſoning the moſt honeſt and reſpectable citizens of Nantz of having permitted what they call *ſabrades*: that ſort of execution relates to ſeven or eight priſoners, who went from the committee to be conducted to priſon. The conductors finding that it was late, and the road long, maſſacred theſe unfortunate wretches under the windows of the committee.

As for the drownings, Goulin thought it witty to to call them *baignades* (bathings;) the word ſounded ſoft; it offered to him an agreeable idea by the ſtriking contraſt between the name and the thing; they likewiſe called theſe puniſhments Immerſions, Vertical Deportations; this laſt name was invented by Carrier.

Towards the end of Brumaire a boatman named Perdreau, aſked me for a pinch of ſnuff: "I have earned it "well," ſays he, "I have juſt been at the execution of

"seven or eight hundred." Perdreau was drunk; I then tried to profit of the occasion, and find out the truth. What then, said I, how do you manage to dispatch so many people so quickly?

Nothing is more easy, said he; when I *do the bathings*, I strip the men and women, put their cloaths into a basket, and bind them two and two by the arms and wrists; they then are made to come to the border of the Loire; they mount two by two into my boat, then two men push them from behind head foremost into the water.

I observed to the boatman, that they might swim on their backs, and save themselves; he answered, we take good care of that, we have great sticks with which we stupify them. This is what we call a civic marriage.

Philippes Tronc Joly. Citizens judges, it is I who prosecute the committee; it is I who have accused Carrier, the representative of the people, as being the accomplice of the committee; it is, therefore, necessary that his head or mine should fall. The republic must be revenged; I demand that I be carried to prison, till national justice shall be pronounced, and that the convention be informed of my imprisonment.

That demand was greatly applauded by the audience.

The President. Philippes may constitute himself prisoner or not, as he chuses, if any jailor will take him in without orders; but this tribunal cannot grant his demand.

The examinations continued many days, and different witneſſes all proved the ſame facts with a little variation. Tourrier, director of the hoſpital, being aſked by the preſident whether he had ever witneſſed republican marriages, anſwered,

I have not ſeen them, but have heard of them; they conſiſted in binding an old man to an old woman, and a young man to a young girl; they were left for half an hour in that attitude; they were ſtruck with ſabres on the head, and then precipitated into the Loire.

I will, however, ſay, in favour of Mainguet, that he could ſcarcely read; that he was only the paſſive tool of the committee, which obliged him to ſign the warrants without knowing their contents; that Mainguet is very ignorant, and rather, I believe, miſtaken than guilty.

Any commentary on theſe trials, or a farther repetition of the ſame facts, would be as uſeleſs as it would be diſagreeable. Well might they ſay, that Nero and Caligula never did ſuch acts of cruelty.

NOTE T.

THE decrees paſt in the national convention, which gave their generals and commiſſaries a power of putting in requiſition every article of utility to the republic that ſhould be found in any conquered country, to be paid for in aſſignats, was not ſufficient. They could not even ſpare their uſeleſs paper in return for really

valuable articles; or rather, as they could not find any pretence for putting the money of the country in a ſtate of requiſition, the commiſſaries were allowed to levy contributions in ſpecie, which was done to a very great amount, and exacted with very great rigour all over Flanders and Brabant. The whole of the wealth of the country was by this means at the diſpoſal of the French army, ſo that particular acts of pillage were become entirely uſeleſs. It is very extraordinary that this has not been properly explained and made known, as the republic boaſts of the reſpect for property ſhewn by its ſoldiers, when, in fact, every thing being enregiſtered, and at the command of the generals and ſoldiers, by means of aſſignats which coſt nothing, and which from the nature of things can never find their way back to France, all pillage in detail would have been perfectly uſeleſs.

A regular account of their exactions and requiſitions would be one of the moſt uſeful and curious pieces that the revolution of France has given room for, and it is to be hoped that the opportunity will not be let ſlip, as it is, perhaps, the only way to convince foreign nations of the injuſtice and bad faith of the convention and of French patriots.

To thoſe notes which ſhew completely the cruelty and injuſtice of the revolution, a few extracts from the Memorial of Gregoire on *Vandaliſm* may not improperly be added. This report was made at the requeſt of the convention.

"The moveables belonging to the nation," ſays he, "have ſuffered immenſe dilapidation, becauſe rogues,

who have always a logic to themſelves, have ſaid, *We are the nation.* Many of thoſe raſcals now have immenſe fortunes, which they have not had the prudence or the art to conceal, and who formerly could with difficulty exiſt upon their hand habour.

" It is in the fine arts that the loſs has been the greateſt.

" For theſe five laſt years whatever was precious in paintings and libraries has been deſtroying or ſold at a vile price to ſtrangers; what the adminiſtrators did not ſell, were left to be eat by worms, and expoſed to the duſt and the rain. We have juſt now learned, that at Arney the library has been put into hogſheads!!

" At Narbonne the books have been ſent to the arſenal; and at Fontaine le Dijon the library of the Fuillants has been thrown aſide as waſte in the hall of old papers. Some individuals, of whom the taſte may, perhaps, be falſe, and the knowledge limited, inſtituted revolutionary tribunals, which proſcribed authors and condemned their books; Horace and Virgil have been condemned not only for acknowledging tyrants, but for having been often printed for the uſe of tyrants, and by the permiſſion of tyrants.

" How is it poſſible to reſtrain our indignation, when, to juſtify the burning of theſe books, we are told, that they were badly bound?

" Many

" Many of the libraries of mendicant monks contain editions printed in the firſt days of the art of printing; the Recolets de Saverne is of this number. Books which only ſold here for a few crowns, have been ſold in London for 125 guineas.

" I paſs now to dilapidations of another ſort. Antique ſtones, medals, engraved ſtones, enamels of Petitot, gems, and morcels of natural hiſtory, have often been the prey of knaves. From all parts bitter complaints, well founded and true, arrive. As there are profits to receive on every ſale, they take care not to reſerve any thing, even when it is precious for public inſtruction.

" It is alſo to be obſerved, that the commiſſaries are generally traders and brokers, who, knowing the value of articles, reap exorbitant profits by purchaſing them at the ſales. The better to ſucceed, they ſcatter the books, and take to pieces the machines; a tube of a teleſcope is found ſeparated from its ſtand; and the cunning knaves know how to put them together again after they have been purchaſed at a low price. When they are afraid of the competition of people who are judges and men of principle, they offer them money to ſtay away; and there is an inſtance where they beat the perſon who bid againſt them.

" At Bretteuil's houſe a clock *en Malachite* was ſold for a trifle, though it is the only one exiſting.

" The four famous tables in wood of the Autrichienne, (the queen) admirable for their form, the

workmanſhip and the materials, were ſold for 800 livres, re-ſold for 12,200, and bought back by the nation for 15,000.

" In all quarters pillage and deſtruction were the *order of the day.*

" At the clocks of the palace the ſtatues of Juſtice and Prudence of Pilon were broke, and the coat of arms left at St. Nicolas la Chardoneret, the magnificent Calvary by Poulhu, from the deſigns of Le Brun, was broken; at St. Louis de la Culture a monument, conſidered as one of the chef-d'œuvres of ſculpture, and which coſt more than 200,000 livres, was mutilated; at Marly they broke and carried off l'Hypomene, l'Atalante, the figure of the Ocean, and two excellent copies of Diana and the Venus of Medicis.

" At Franciade, (St. Denis) where the national club has with juſtice ſtruck the tyrants even in their tombs, they ought at leaſt to have ſpared that of Turenne, when cuts of ſabres are to be ſeen.*

" If at Paris and its environs ſuch have been the deſtructions, what muſt they have been in the provinces?

" At Nancy, in the ſpace of a few hours, they broke and burned to the value of 100,000 crowns in books and pictures.

* At St. Denis, the Weſtminſter Abbey of France, the coffins of all the race of kings were taken up, for the double purpoſe of making lead bullets and inſulting royalty. It is evident, that Gregoire is juſt as violent as thoſe who deſtroyed the monuments, with regard to royalty.

" But

"But on the frontiers and the departments of the north the diſtinction is ſuch, that it is impoſſible to find words to deſcribe it.

"At Anet a ſtag in bronze was about to be deſtroyed, on pretence that the chace was a feudal right; it was ſaved on proving, that brazen ſtags did not come under the law.

"At Pont Mouſſon a large picture, which connoiſſeurs offered to cover with louis d'ors as its price, was ſold for forty-eight livres.

"It would require a great portion of indulgence not to perceive wickedneſs as well as ignorance in all this; but if ignorance is not always a crime, thoſe who ſpeak in its praiſe ſhould know, *that it is always an evil:* almoſt conſtantly behind ignorance a contre revolutionary and evil ſpirit is concealed. Thoſe who ſawed down the *iron tree* in the botanic garden at Montpelier to make of it a tree of liberty, are perhaps the ſame who wanted to cut up the olive trees of the ci-devant Provence.

"No ſooner is a wiſe decree paſſed, than in the inſtant ariſtocracy endeavours to turn it to its purpoſe.

"If they propoſe to convert the bells into cannons, immediately men, ſtrangers perhaps, or paid by ſtrangers, want to ſend to the foundery the collection of ſtatues in bronze at the Little Auguſtins. The meridian circles made by Butterfield for the globes of Coronelli, and the medals which are at the national library,

brary; they calculated that all theſe objects would make the half of a little cannon.

" At Lyons, Caſſenet threw into the crucible 800 antique medals of gold.

" To find ſalt-petre the antiquities of Arles were deſtroyed.

" At Bouquier's houſe celebrated pictures were deſtroyed, becauſe they repreſented religious ſubjects; and at Praſlin ſtatues of Pagan gods were deſtroyed, as being monuments of the feudal ſyſtem.

" They went farther ſtill; men armed with clubs, and preceded by terror, went to the citizens printſellers. A binding or a vignette have ſerved as a pretext for deſtroying or ſtealing books, prints, geographical charts and pictures.

" They even tore the print of the death of Charles I. becauſe they found on it a coat of arms. *Ah! would to God, that after the reality, the engraving art could repreſent to us in the ſame manner the heads of all kings, even at the riſk of ſeeing at the bottom a ridiculous blazonry.*

" Without doubt it is neceſſary to ſpeak to the eyes republican language, but we ſhould calumniate liberty by ſuppoſing, that its triumph depends on the preſervation or the deſtruction of a figure of deſpotiſm, and when ſuch monuments happen to be of excellent workmanſhip, their preſervation, according to the law of the 3d Fremaire, may be uſeful both for cultivating genius and the hatred of tyrants, who by that preſervation

ſervation are condemned to a ſort *of perpetual pillory*. Such is the mauſoleum of Richelieu, one of the maſterpieces of Girandon.

" The frenzy of the barbarians was ſuch, that they propoſed to tear off the covers of books with arms, dedications, or privileges, that is to ſay, to deſtroy them altogether.

" Be aſſured, that this new ſort of fanaticiſm pleaſes the Engliſh. They would pay very dear for your fine editions *ad uſum Delphini*, and not being able to have them, they will willingly pay to have them burned.

" It is, perhaps, the Engliſh who have got the memorials, plans, and manuſcripts, that are ſtole from the depoſit of the army and the navy.

" Permit me here to concentrate a ſeries of facts which is curious and inſtructing.

" Manuel propoſed to deſtroy the port St. Denis, which propoſal prevented men of taſte, who loved the arts, from ſleeping for eight days.

" Chaumette, who cauſed trees to be pulled up, under pretext of planting potatoes, wanted likewiſe to kill all the rare animals in the muſeum of Natural Hiſtory.

" Hebert inſulted the national majeſty by degrading the language of liberty.

" Chabot ſaid, he did not like learned men, he and his companions had rendered that name ſynonymous with that of ariſtocrat.

" La-

" Lacroix propoſed, that ſoldiers might mount to any rank in the army, without being able to write.

" Whilſt the banditti in the Vendée were deſtroying the monuments at Parthenay, Angers, Saumur, and Chinon, Henriot propoſed to renew here the exploits of Omar at Alexandria; he propoſed to burn the national library, and the ſame motion was repeated at Marſeilles.

" Dumas ſaid, that all men of genius ſhould be guillotined; Robeſpierre ſaid, there ought only to be one.

" In the ſections, to conſummate the work and dry up all ſources of inſtruction, it was reſolved to deſtroy men of genius, of whom the exiſtence is ſo often tormented by thoſe who abuſe them, that they may diſpenſe with admiring them. All of them were indiſtinctly refuſed; cards of citizens, and the cry was, *Don't truſt that man, he has written a book.* Such men were chaced from the places they occupied; the pride of ignorance was flattered by the perſuaſion that patriotiſm, ſo neceſſary in all caſes, was ſufficient of itſelf alone, and ſo, on pretence of making principle triumph, bring into danger the fortune, honour, and life of citizens, by confiding them to unſkilful hands. This is in what diſguiſed ariſtocracy has completely ſucceeded.

" The ſyſtem of perſecution againſt men of abilities was organiſed. Deſſaulx, one of the firſt ſurgeons in Europe, was impriſoned, who is, beſides, at the head of the greateſt ſick hoſpital in Paris, and almoſt the only one who raiſes young ſurgeons for the armies. Your committee has ſet him at liberty.

" During

"During nine months the celebrated tranſlator of Homer, Bitaubé, the ſon of a refugee, whom the love of liberty brought back long ago into the country of his fathers, has groaned in a priſon, and whom the tyrant of Pruſſia has deprived of his revenues becauſe he is a patriot. Thellaye, Couſin, La Harpe, Vandermonde, Ginquené, Lachabeauſſiere, La Roche, Sage, Beffroy, Vigée, and many others, have ſhared the ſame fate.

"Mauduit, Latourette, and Champfort, have periſhed victims to that inquiſition.

"Citizens, if the authenticity is diſputed, or the importance diminiſhed, of any of the facts which I have mentioned,* although that enumeration is very incomplete, there ſtill would remain enough to ſerve for evidence of the miſchiefs of ignorance and ariſtocracy.

Gregoire adds, "that the republic acquires by its courage what Louis XIV. with immenſe ſums could never purchaſe. The whole Flemiſh ſchool, ſays he, has riſen in a maſs, to come and ornament our muſeums. Crayer, Vandyke, and Rubens, are on the road to Paris.

"The greateſt enemy of France could not wiſh the country to be going more rapidly to deſtruction, than by thoſe different facts of crimes, cruelties, and follies, it ſeems to be.

"Two great maſters in the art of painting nature have given a ſpecimen of criminality and madneſs, that re-

* All Gregoire's facts are not given here in this note.

ſemble

ſemble ſtrikingly the actors on the ſtage of the French revolution.

Shakeſpeare and Cervantes have painted the progreſs of crime and of folly as we ſee them exhibited in France. All the criminal leaders of the French revolution ſeem, like Macbeth, to think, that once ſtept into guilt, it is leſs tedious to go on than to return, and the enthuſiaſts in liberty, like Don Quixote, miſtake perpetually every ridiculous exceſs for patriotiſm. The ſtrong are always patriots, and the perſecuted ariſtocrats; and Gregoire, in his report to the convention, ſhews as completely that he is mad north-north-eaſt as any bedlamite ever was; his memorial is, in itſelf, good and true, but whenever he mentions liberty, crowned heads, or ariſtocrats, he is juſt as raving mad as the knight of La Mancha was about his enchanters, his knights, and his caſtles.

To be conſulted in aſcertaining facts relative to the revolution.

The Journal de Paris
Courier de Provence
Monieuteur
Logograph
Rabaut's Hiſtory
Mounier's Letter
Fieul du Soir & Gazette de Leyde
Gazette Univerſel
M. de Montgalliard
M. Peltier, &c. &c.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

Though, perhaps, none of theſe publications is free from many errors inevitable in relating what is recent, the conduct of the aſſembly, all remarkable facts and decrees, are accurate; and, in general, the French periodical papers have related things pretty truly, obſerving only that they muſt be compared together with care.

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